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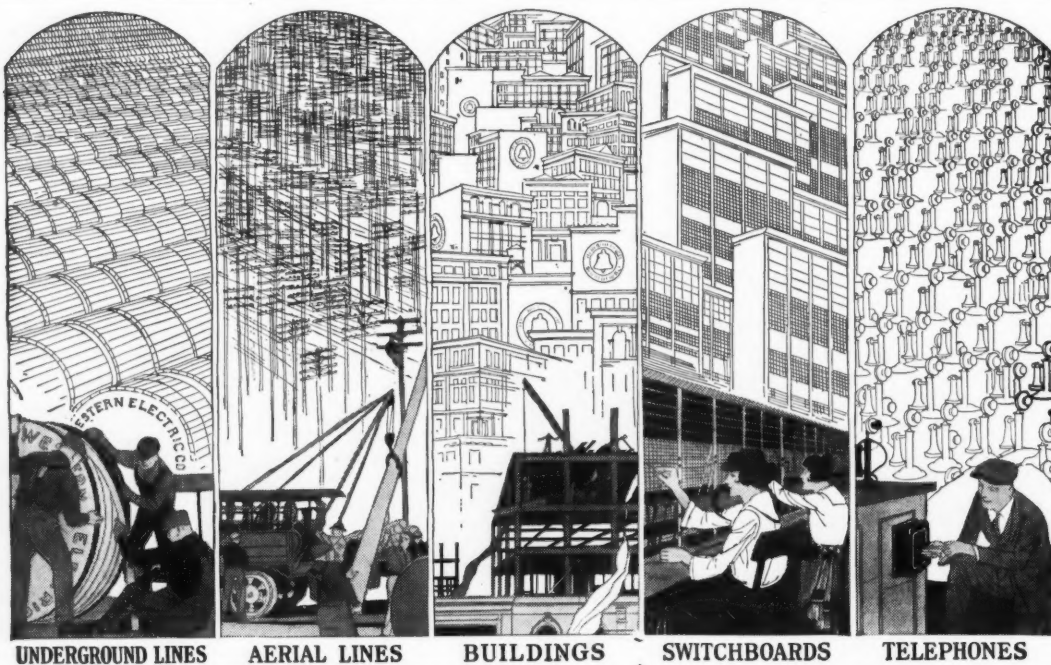


Admiral Sims *Answers* the British Admiral On Naval Agreement

Dry Leader Wheeler Tells of Prohibition
Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire
Charged to Hungary

Head of Tuskegee on Progress of Negro

NEWS OF FORTY NATIONS



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CURRENT HISTORY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
STATUS OF THE AMERICAN NAVY	By William S. Sims 185
FACING THE FACTS OF PROHIBITION	By Wayne B. Wheeler 195
WHAT GERMANY MUST PAY IN REPARATIONS	203
THE SEVRES TREATY REVISED	211
PRESENT TURKISH RULE IN CILICIA	By Clair Price 216
STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA	By Robert R. Moton 221
THE FIGHT FOR THE ATLANTIC	By Charles W. Stokes 237
HOW HUNGARY'S CHICKENS CAME HOME TO ROOST	By Emanuel Urbas 239
THE MAKING OF A NEW AUSTRIA	By Jacob L. Crane Jr. 258
THE ANGLO-INDIAN-TURKISH CRISIS (Map)	By Henry Woodhouse 264
SOUTH AFRICA'S PERILOUS RACE PROBLEM	By Harold Wodson 279
FAILURE OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION	By an Observer 285
ORGANIZED LABOR IN SOUTH AMERICA	By Samuel G. Inman 288
IS DIVORCE A SOCIAL MENACE?	By George L. Koehn 29
CAMP ROOSEVELT: BUILDER OF BOYS	300
RUSSIAN FAMINE STUDIES FROM THE FIELD	303
THE NEW MAP OF EUROPE AND THE UKRAINE (Map)	By A. Margolin 309
THE GENOA CONFERENCE: FIRST SESSIONS	317
THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES	328
CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS BRIEFS:	
What the Turks Think of the Greeks	By Mehmed S. Zia 220
Stefansson's Claim to Wrangell Island	220
America's Dead Brought Home	236
Expropriating the Russian Church Treasures	257
Zion's Work to Develop the Jordan Valley	263
"Falcons" and Boy Scouts in Czechoslovakia	284
A Greek View of the Turkish Treaty Terms	By Louis Giorgos 327

INDEX TO NATIONS TREATED

(Figures in parentheses refer to special articles)

ARGENTINA	339	ECUADOR	340	NEW ZEALAND	347
ARMENIA	357	EGYPT	348	NICARAGUA	338
AUSTRALIA	346	ENGLAND	(264), 346	NORWAY	353
AUSTRIA	(258), 350	ESTHONIA	355	PALESTINE	263
AZERBAIJAN	357	FINLAND	348	PANAMA	338
BALTIC STATES	355	FIUME	352	PARAGUAY	340
BELGIUM	345	FRANCE	351	PERU	340
BOLIVIA	339	GEORGIA	357	POLAND	354
BRAZIL	339	GERMANY	349	PORTO RICO	337
BULGARIA	358	GREECE	361	RUMANIA	358
CANADA	342	GUATEMALA	338	RUSSIA	(257, 303, 309), 356
CAUCASUS STATES	357	HAITI	338	SALVADOR	338
CENTRAL AMERICA		HOLLAND	350	SANTO DOMINGO	338
CHILE	(285, 287), 338	HUNGARY	(239), 350	SIBERIA	360
CHINA	340	INDIA	(264), 347	SOUTH AFRICA	(279), 348
CHITA GOVERNMENT,	350	IRELAND	343	SOUTH AMERICA	(288), 339
SIBERIA	360	ITALY	351	SWEDEN	352
CUBA	338	JAPAN	(360), 353	TURKEY	(264, 327), 361
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	(284), 359	JUGOSLAVIA	358	VILNA GOVERNMENT	354
DENMARK	352	LATVIA	355	UNITED STATES	328
		LITHUANIA	(355), 354	WEST INDIES	338
		MEXICO	341		



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REAR ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS

Who has seen forty-two years of active service in the United States Navy, rising through all the various grades to the rank of Vice Admiral. He commanded the American naval operations in European waters from April, 1917, to the end of the war.

***The foremost Admiral
of the United States
Navy takes issue with
the Admiral of the
British Fleet on the
effects of the Naval
Limitation Treaty***

EXTRACTS FROM
WASHINGTON: AND AFTER

AN ARTICLE BY LORD WESTER-WEYMSS,
G. C. B., ADMIRAL OF THE BRITISH FLEET,
IN THE MARCH NINETEENTH CENTURY AND
AFTER, REPRINTED BY SPECIAL PERMISSION
OF THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION
COMPANY, BARR FERREE, PROPRIETOR

* * * For Great Britain voluntarily to resign that naval supremacy which to obtain and to maintain she has fought and striven for more than three hundred years and the principle of which has ever been the first and foremost article of her political faith, is an act of renunciation unparalleled, we believe, in history. Even though it be to share the command of the sea with a power from whom she expects nothing but friendship, and however expedient such a step may be, it can only fill with regret and even dismay those who realize its potentialities.

Quite apart from those feelings of sentiment with which all Englishmen, and more especially naval officers, must view this abdication, it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that British policy will henceforth be deprived of its strongest driving power, and that the voice of Great Britain in the councils of the nations will no longer carry the same weight as heretofore. That voice has lost much of its authority, and with it much of its prestige. No longer does Britannia rule the waves, or, if she does so, it is in partnership with the American eagle, on the principle of a limited liability company. * * *

Capital ships are the foundation of a fleet. They represent that concentration of naval force which tactics demand. Their principal function is to meet and defeat the concentrated force of the

STATUS OF THE AMERICAN NAVY

BY WILLIAM S. SIMS
Rear Admiral of the United States Navy

*A Reply to the Views of Lord Wester-Wemyss,
Admiral of the British Fleet*

MY duties in London during the war brought me into daily contact with Admiral of the Fleet Lord Wester-Wemyss, when he was First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and our relations were so very cordial that I recall the association with much pleasure. Therefore, when, in an article entitled "Washington: and After," in the March number of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, the Admiral gave his views on certain naval matters which deserve critical attention, it was with considerable regret that I found myself unable to agree with him throughout. I was not able to do so on all occasions during the war, but he was always so perfectly fair and friendly in considering all differences that I am sure he will bear with me this time if I conclude that his attitude regarding the conference is at least meant only as an ex parte statement on the pessimistic side.

Three factors appear to have combined to make the Admiral's tone one of pessimism. The first seems to be that he adopts a purely material criterion and neglects the moral or psychological factors, which are of the greatest importance. The second is that, whereas he goes to history to gain perspective, it appears that he has not gone into it far enough to gain a correct one. And the third influence seems to be that he judges, not from a world point of view, or even from an imperial one, but from a purely British point of view.

[ADMIRAL SIMS]

Perhaps, though, these three factors are not the causes of his pessimism so much as they are its results.

The fundamental question, then, is this: whether the tangible Anglo-Japanese Alliance or a nebulous trust in Anglo-American friendship were the greater asset for Britain. Admiral Wemyss thought that the former promised more substantial returns to Great Britain. Perhaps, from his point of view, it did; but from the standpoint of the British Commonwealth of Nations, this judgment may be questioned. One thing at least is fairly certain: that either the attitude of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa would in time have weakened the value of that alliance, or the alliance would have impaired the strength of the bond between these young so-called nations and the mother country; for the tie between them and Great Britain is not primarily determined by laws or by guarantees, but by mutual interests and by powerful sentiments. These factors, during the war, proved to have been satisfactorily strong. It is for this reason that, as above stated, Admiral Wemyss probably did not take sufficient account of moral factors or adopt an imperial viewpoint.

On the other hand, as to the value of American friendship, let us begin by putting aside cant, as one would any other poison, and, being perfectly candid, rely upon facts as the only secure basis for an enduring structure. We should begin by admitting freely that many Americans and Englishmen do not like each other and do not get along well together. Generally, on the part of each, there is a tinge of glamour for the other, and often an admiration which as often as not is grudging or expresses itself as envy. In either case, it does not help matters much. The same, generally, may be said of the English attitude toward colonials and of the colonial attitude toward Englishmen. But the same cannot be said of the relations between colonials and Americans. They like, admire and understand each other.

ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

We ought to bear these things in mind when we consider the statement of Admiral Wemyss that "the inhabitants of the Great Republic are now a very different race from that of three generations ago" and that "the effect of cross-breeding has resulted, as it was bound to do, in a new type, varying considerably, both mentally and physically, from the old Anglo-Saxon stock."

[ADMIRAL WEMYSS]

enemy. But smaller vessels have other duties to perform in addition to those allotted to them as units of the main fleet, duties which vary according to the circumstances of the State whose flag they fly. Countries like England and France, with vast overseas possessions, have greater naval responsibilities than others with no outlying territories; England, unlike any other country, is entirely dependent upon the security of her sea communications for the daily food of her millions; Japan, another island kingdom, shares the same responsibilities, though in a minor degree; while the United States, by virtue of their geographical position, are freer from the menace of overseas attack than any European country. In such circumstances it is obvious that the ratio allotted to capital ships cannot be applied to cruisers without disturbing the balance which it is desired to establish.

To complicate matters still further, there exists that difference of opinion on the military value of submarines which manifested itself so prominently at the conference.

Mr. Balfour, with that persuasive eloquence for which he is so justly famed, laid it down that the submarine as a weapon of offense against its legitimate target, the warship, had proved itself of negligible value; that as one of defense it was useless; and that it was only as a commerce destroyer that it had proved successful. This, he said, he stated on authority, a phrase which must have sounded strange in the ears of Admirals de Bon and Sims, the close collaborators of the British Admiralty in the anti-submarine campaign. Whose was the authority quoted? It is difficult to believe that it was that of the naval staff, for, however ill-informed the public was, and to this day, on the subject of the naval war, naval officers, at all events, must know that such conclusions are in direct contradiction to experience. The claim that the efficacy of these vessels is based on their successes obtained in commerce destroying is incorrect, for their successes in that line were solely due to the illegality of the way in which they were used. To presume that this in future will be the sole method of their employment is to attribute to those who believe in submarines a mentality for which there is not the slightest justification.

When the war broke out the submarine was an untried weapon. That the Germans at first hoped by its means materially to reduce the superiority of the Grand Fleet is known; that they failed

[ADMIRAL WEMYSS]

in their object was less due to the inefficiency of the weapon than their want of experience in its use. To deduce from this that it has no offensive value is to ignore the deeds of our own submarines in the Baltic and in the Sea of Marmora.

Who, with the lessons of the Dardanelles campaign before him, can say that they are useless as a weapon of defense? Had any been present off Gallipoli in April, 1915, the landing of the troops on the peninsula would have been impossible; never could the transports and supply ships have lain quietly off those beaches, pouring forth men and munitions as they did, had they been open to submarine attack. As it was, when they did, later on, make their appearance, they sank two battleships and drove the transports into the security of Mudros Harbor, thus increasing enormously the labor and difficulty of keeping the army supplied.

Submarines have rendered a close blockade impossible, and the duties they carried out in the North Sea watching the enemy coasts have proved them to be a most valuable adjunct to the main fleet. As commerce destroyers, however, their lack of means for providing for the safety of the crews of vessels seized is in itself sufficient to make them useless for this purpose, unless the illegal and inhuman practice of sinking without warning is resorted to.

In fact, Mr. Balfour's statement is open to the gravest criticism, for experience proves that as a weapon of offense the submarine is a useful adjunct to the main fleet, that as one of defense it plays an important rôle, and that as a commerce destroyer it is, if legitimately used, practically useless.

The submarine, naturally enough, has incurred the odium which the introduction of any new weapon has ever evoked. The vehemence with which it is now being denounced was equaled, if not surpassed, by the severity of the condemnation of firearms by clergy and laity alike on their first advent, while, to go further back still, the crossbow was banned as being murderous and barbaric by the Council of the Lateran in the year 1139, on which occasion it was France who bowed to the decision and England who steadily refused to abandon its use. It is not without signification that the crossbow was eventually reintroduced into France by Richard Coeur de Lion and continued to be used by all the European armies until superseded by the firearm. Thus does history ever repeat itself, the international conferences of today taking the place of the Church councils of yore,

[ADMIRAL SIMS]

How, then, is the Admiral going to explain this: that three generations ago, in the heyday of the good old "Anglo-Saxon blood," the American people were pretty generally strongly anti-British, while today the more the good old "Anglo-Saxon blood" gets watered and the thinner it becomes the more strongly does the idea of a closer co-operation with the British Commonwealth of Nations take hold of us?

The answer is, of course, that race has little or nothing to do with the matter. On the contrary, one of the obstacles to a more cordial relation is all this talk about "Anglo-Saxon blood" and "noble Pilgrim Fathers," and so on; because Citizen Goldstein, Citizen O'Houlahan, Citizen Popoff and Citizen Würtzberger are not deeply interested in our Anglo-Saxon blood, but they are mightily interested in Anglo-Saxon liberties and institutions and ideals. They are also interested in their country's future, and many of them realize that it is a case of "hang together or hang separately." Precisely the same factors are at the bottom of Anglo-American friendship as are at the bottom of the feeling that keeps the British Empire together—community of ideas, community of interests and interdependence. That which makes an American is that which makes the solidarity of England and Scotland; not political union, not race and not speech, but an idea. The American negro is an American, and so are millions of alien birth. That which makes the latter legally so is their naturalization—their will to become Americans. That which makes them in reality so is their impregnation with the idea which we call "Americanism." Similarly, in Great Britain, the Englishman is closer to the Teuton than to the Scot in race, and the Scot closer to the Irish in race than to the Englishman. It is an idea which brings the Englishman closer to the Scot than to the Irishman. It was not always so. A century and a half ago Boswell wrote of Samuel Johnson:

"On Saturday, May 1, we dined by ourselves at our old rendezvous, the Mitre Tavern. He was placid, but not much disposed to talk. He observed that 'the Irish mix better with the English than the Scotch do—. Then, sir, they have not that extreme nationality which we find in the Scotch.'"

Edmund Burke's "Speech on Conciliation" supports this view of conditions at that time.

It is, then, a matter not of race at all, but of a stronger tie. "Identity of interest," says Thucy-

[ADMIRAL SIMS]

dides, "is the surest of bonds, whether between States or individuals."

NEED OF CO-OPERATION

As may easily be discovered by consulting a reliable reference work, most of the desirable lands of the earth are held by the various branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. These lands are very thinly populated in comparison with the less desirable lands of Asia. If, to call a spade a spade, we insist upon a dog-in-the-manger policy, we can expect, in the long run, to uphold it only by force. To do so successfully will require wholehearted co-operation. Then there is another way of looking at the matter: we have in common certain ideals that are worthy of preservation for our posterity and for such of the posterity of other races as may care to avail themselves of their benefit. It is a trust to which we can be loyal only by working together.

In short, while we may readily concede the magnificence of the sacrifices made by the British delegation to assure the success of the Washington conference—and this country is not unaware of that steadfast support—it is by no means apparent that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was one of these sacrifices.

Curiously enough, each country appears to be convinced that it made the heaviest sacrifices, and that the United States alone gained. Regarding the woefully misunderstood Monroe Doctrine, just how that policy prohibits American interference if another power intervenes in China it is hard to see.

As regards national policies in general, in order to refute the argument that nations have necessarily certain permanent policies, and that China needs intervention, it is necessary to state only this: that a longer perspective than that of a couple of centuries is necessary, and that national psychology also must be considered. China, for example, cannot be judged by Western standards. China is less of a political organization than a culture, a social organization; it has in the past survived much worse crises than the one it is now going through; the nation has extraordinary vitality. China is a famous example of the superiority of moral over material forces. Moral force is a practical obstacle, as Napoleon discovered. Britons ought to recognize this, because little else than moral force keeps the empire together. It is by virtue of this and of the political psychology of the United States that Britannia still rules the waves.

[ADMIRAL WEMYSS]

and the attitude of countries being at times inverted. * * *

France does not share Mr. Balfour's opinion of the value of submarines; she considers them very necessary additions to her armory of defense; and if we take into consideration her position in the Mediterranean, where her interests are universal and her lines of communication flanked by more than one not necessarily friendly State, we can hardly be surprised that she should refuse to divest herself of any possible means of security.

It was French territories that were invaded and devastated, it was the French population that suffered the greatest losses, and victory has up till now brought her the least tangible results. The German fleet is at the bottom of the sea, and England is rid of her greatest menace; the most valuable German colonies are in our hands, but France's frontiers are not yet assured; the potentialities of a strong German army still exist, her reparations are overdue and the difficulty of obtaining them is creating in France a financial situation compared to which that of England may be described as flourishing. Further, France full well knows that, should another war break out, it will be she again who will have to bear the brunt of the aggression, and it is permissible to believe that had those now so ready to criticise her suffered similar treatment, they would have been no more ready to accept the Washington proposals than were the French. * * *

If there are any doubts as to the side on which British and French balances lie, there can be none in the case of the United States. They have emerged from the conference conscious of having gained the substance of all they desire. They have rid themselves of a vast and ruinous shipbuilding program without giving up the object for which it was projected, they have secured a general ratio of naval strength which leaves them free from anxiety in all quarters, and they have attained an equality with the first naval power with a minimum effort.

Why they should want a navy equal to that of Great Britain is a question difficult to answer. When it was addressed to a distinguished American naval officer, he replied, "Why shouldn't we?" and that response seems to contain the gist of the truth.

It is neither the weight of their responsibilities nor the defense of their coasts which demands equality with Great Britain, neither is it motives of future aggression, for they have not yet reached that stage when overpopulation

[ADMIRAL WEMYSS]

produces the necessity for expansion. The answer must be looked for elsewhere.

The normal ways of modern material civilization have gathered the United States into their meshes, and however much they may succeed in keeping themselves free from the tangle of European politics, they are as much mixed up with the rest of the world financially and commercially as is any other State. Whatever the ostensible reasons may have been which caused them to enter into the war when they did, the financial obligations of the Allies toward them would have obliged them, sooner or later, to cast their weight on their side. So it has been, and so it may well be again. They have seized their opportunity, and are now in a position of strength that cannot but cause them to be one of the arbiters of the world. That they will use this power for the preservation of peace is an ideal which they surely aspire to, but circumstances change, ideas alter, and generations differ one from another; the blessing of today may be the curse of tomorrow.

The check to Japan's rising naval power is, after the surrender of Britain's naval supremacy, the most striking feature of the conference. * * *

To Germany, without natural frontiers and therefore always open to invasion from east and west, a strong army is a primary condition of national existence, and her so-called militarism is not due, as is so often advanced, to the Hohenzollerns, but rather are the Hohenzollerns the product of her military needs. France's policy must ever be dominated by the security of her eastern frontier, which has been alternately advancing and receding since time immemorial, and this is the reason that her policy today differs in no essentials from that of Louis XIV. and the Palatinate, or of Napoleon and the Confederation of the Rhine; it always has been and always must be the same. The ruling factor of the policy of England, an overpopulated island, the centre of a far-flung empire, is the command of the sea. Though temporarily obscured by financial considerations, this must again be recognized as the essential condition of the existence of the empire, whose downfall would surely follow the abandonment of this paramount principle. Though the United States have not that long history to look back upon that other countries have, and though their conditions differ in almost every respect from theirs, they, too, have a fundamental policy which is incorporated in the Monroe Doctrine enjoined upon them by that

[ADMIRAL SIMS]

EFFECTS OF THE ARMS CONFERENCE

By the political psychology of the United States I mean the political reaction, as regards naval policy, to the Washington conference. Now, either the battleship is or it is not the backbone of the fleet. If it is, the United States is to be allowed a naval strength equal in that regard to Great Britain's. But of the necessary auxiliaries, we have practically nothing but destroyers. All others, to reach an equality, we must build. But since there is no specific limitation upon anything but battleships—craft of over 10,000 tons and over eight-inch guns—it follows that the nation that has the greatest number of other craft, or which plans to build them, is, or will be, superior to us, because our people will not hear of a building program. The conference is generally supposed to have been for the purpose of prohibiting the building of ships. It was a measure of economy. No Congress, pledged to retrenchment, dares spend money.

If the battleship is not the backbone of the fleet, however, the situation is even worse. Learned foreign naval experts are fond of pointing out that the Washington conference was a shrewd Yankee move to gain naval supremacy because we were convinced that the battleship is doomed. But the irony of the situation is that our naval men are firmly convinced that it is not. Moreover, even if they were convinced that the battleship is doomed, that would not help much—and here again is where political psychology comes in—because Congress would have to be convinced of it, too, and that is not the simple business that it may appear.

Even if Congress, too, were convinced, however, we should still be faced with yet another problem, and that is this: The pressure on Congress must come from the people, and who are to inform the people? We have in the United States no class of naval critics. And even if we had, there would be no chance of putting through a new building program of aircraft carriers and submarines when the cry of "economy" is heard in the land. Today we cannot even secure appropriations sufficient to keep the ill-balanced fleet we have from rusting at the docks. *This program of retrenchment, coupled with a complete apathy toward the navy and not any unholy satisfaction over the naval results of the conference, is the true explanation of our alacrity in accepting the new order. Our present policy makes us a bad third. Britannia not only still rules the waves but rules them more economically now.*

[ADMIRAL SIMS]

It must be perfectly clear that, with such speed as will enable them to keep out of the range of the guns of battleships, a fleet of aircraft carriers could dog a fleet and do it to death. We must not argue from the standpoint of present conditions, because we must imagine the aircraft attacking in swarms and at their chosen time. Moreover, the present bomb is still in a crude experimental form, sighting devices are still awkward and the gunners untrained. The aircraft carrier is the capital ship of the future.

Admiral Wemyss stresses the value of the submarine. Well he may. Here I am happy to be in complete harmony with his views. He points out that it ended the close blockade, that it makes amphibious operations almost impossible and that it has limited the power of the capital ship. But he does not go far enough. Table "A" [p. 192] is a rough compilation from data given in Jane's "Fighting Ships," showing the value of the submarine in war. It may not be strictly accurate, but, even if approximately so, it is a striking comment upon the value of the submarine in naval warfare, particularly if we bear in mind this essential fact, that in the war no organized and concerted submarine attack was ever tried. On the contrary, the submarine effort was concentrated against merchant shipping. Its sinkings of naval craft were a side issue.

The submarine has many various uses. It can penetrate where it pleases, except into densely guarded small areas. It can forbid to surface craft any particular deep-water area. It can scout, lay mines and fight enemy submarines. It is the most effective anti-submarine craft. In the war it destroyed three times as many German submarines, in proportion, as the destroyers and twenty times as many patrol boats. The submarine, moreover, by forcing a battle fleet always to steam at high speed and to zigzag and to screen itself with a host of destroyers, has limited the radius of action of a fleet. When one considers the various types of submarine craft—coast defense, fleet submarines, monitors, mine layers and cruiser submarines—it must become evident that the submarine can exert a powerful influence in the future. Up to this point I can only applaud the Admiral's views regarding the submarine.

But it is precisely in the sphere in which the value of the submarine is greatest that Admiral Wemyss begins to doubt its utility. He states that "as a commerce destroyer it is, if legitimately used, practically useless." The evidence to the

[ADMIRAL WEMYSS]

unique position in the world which their almost unlimited resources and independence give them. It was the ignoring of this doctrine by President Wilson which led to the tragedy of the Peace of Versailles. His passionate entreaties to his fellow-countrymen to adopt his theories were bound to fail because they were in direct contradiction to the Monroe Doctrine, which, like all fundamental policies, is so engrained in the minds of the people as to cause them, almost subconsciously, to follow its dictates. For this reason the Monroe Doctrine must ever prove an insurmountable obstacle to the United States entering into any formal alliance, or to their taking that part in world politics which has been so ardently pressed upon them since their entry into the war. It also dissipates the dream of the union of the Anglo-Saxon races so dear to the hearts of a section of the English press, which seems quite oblivious of the fact that the inhabitants of the Great Republic are now a very different race from that of three generations ago.

During the last hundred years a great change has come over the inhabitants of the North American Continent unnoticed by the casual European observer. Immigration of an infinity of races, Latin, Teutonic, Slav, Scandinavian, Celtic, has produced its natural results—a population which is no longer Anglo-Saxon.

* * * It is therefore to be hoped that it is not a vain lure of an eventual Anglo-American alliance which has caused us to discard our treaty with Japan for the Four-Power Pact. * * *

Much has been heard of the bogey of the yellow peril, but is it not likely that all that has been written and said about the union of the Anglo-Saxon races and of the solidarity of English-speaking peoples may raise the bogey of a white peril in Asia, a fear of the desire to exploit Asia for the benefit of the white races?

The war has stirred up national and racial feeling to such a pitch everywhere as to make not unlikely the raising of the cry of "Asia for the Asiatics!" and if that should happen, it would be to Japan that the nations of the East would naturally turn in their search for a leader, as did the German States to Prussia before 1870. Those smaller German States had no love for their big neighbor, nor have other Asiatic nations for Japan, but they recognize in her, as did the German States in Prussia, the only possible power that could lead them to their goal. The Four-Power Pact would be valueless in such an eventuality.

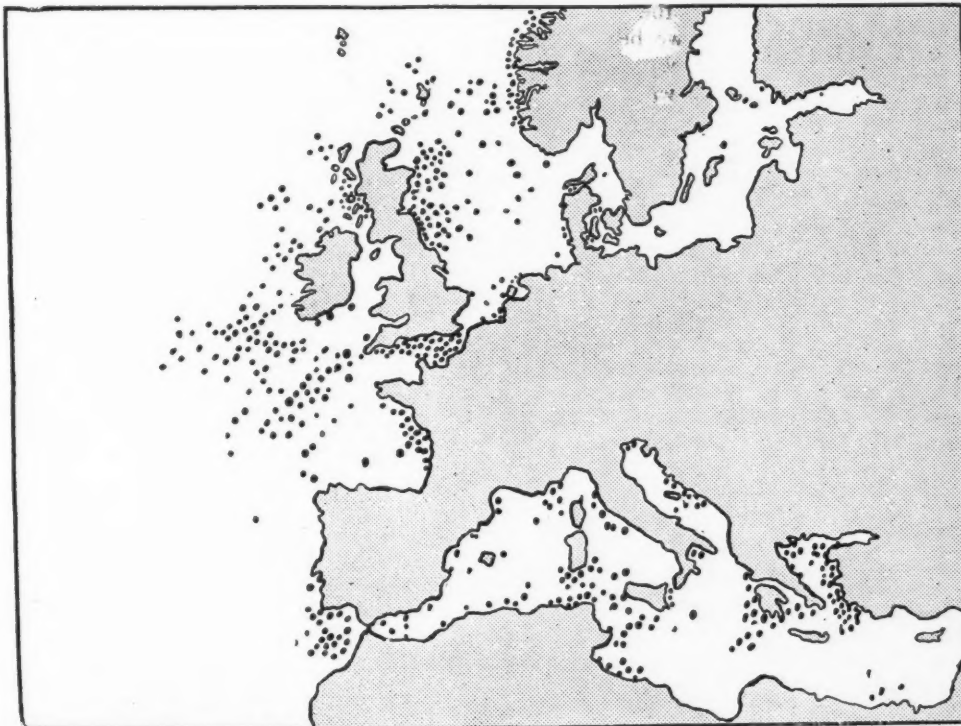
[ADMIRAL WEMYSS]

The conference has proved an unqualified success for the United States, who, through the statesmanship of President Harding and Mr. Hughes, have achieved all the objects they had in view. They have furthered the ends of peace to an extent and in a manner which would have been thought impossible but a short time ago. Their power has been increased and their influence widened, their authority extended and their prestige raised, but it must not be forgotten that they never would have obtained so triumphant an issue without the whole-hearted co-operation of Great Britain, who has sacrificed much in her unselfish desire to further the cause of peace, to such an extent, indeed, as to raise the doubt in the minds of many Englishmen whether her sacrifices have not been too great and whether her statesmen, after an unparalleled series of failures at home and abroad, have not, in their eagerness to snatch at apparent success, sacrificed the substance for the shadow.

Time alone will show.

contrary is overwhelming. As I pointed out in a letter published in *The New York Times* of Sunday, Jan. 8, 1922:

"The success of the German submarines in attacking allied merchant shipping and the subsequent success of the allied navies in protecting this shipping in convoys were both due to the simple fact that the geographical situation was such that the bulk of the shipping had to converge to pass through the English Channel or the Irish Sea; the submarine (except a few cruising subs) could not operate more than about 300 miles to the westward of these channels, because further out the dispersion of the shipping would have been so wide that they would have sighted but few vessels. This inevitable restriction of the submarine's operations within this limited area made it possible for the destroyer forces, based on Queenstown, Brest and the Western Channel ports, to protect the convoys in their passage through this area—the so-called submarine danger zone."



Copy of official chart showing merchant vessels sunk by submarines in the month of April, 1917. Each dot represents a lost ship, whether sunk by torpedo, bomb, gunfire or mine. Most of the destruction was in the waters around the British Isles, but there were also a surprising number of ships sunk by the enemy in the Mediterranean

NAVAL CRAFT SUNK

TABLE "A"

	By Gunfire.	By Sub- marine.	By Mine.	By Air- craft.	All Other.
I. GREAT BRITAIN:					
1. Battleships	0	5	5	0	3
2. Battle cruisers ...	3	0	0	0	0
3. Cruisers	3	10	3	0	3
4. Destroyers	11	10	19	0	28
5. Submarines	1	1	0	0	24
6. Miscellaneous	3	10	7	0	5
7. Auxiliaries	2	24	8	0	3
Total	23	60	42	0	66
II. FRANCE:					
1. Battleships	0	3	1	0	0
2. Cruisers	0	4	1	0	0
3. Destroyers	2	2	4	0	6
4. Submarines	2	4	2	1	6
5. Miscellaneous	1	3	0	0	1
6. Auxiliaries	0	7	2	0	1
Total	5	23	10	1	14
III. ITALY:					
1. Battleships	0	1	1	0	2
2. Cruisers	0	1	0	0	0
3. Destroyers	1	4	1	0	0
4. Submarines	0	1	0	0	4
5. Miscellaneous	0	1	0	0	0
6. Auxiliaries	0	1	1	0	0
Total	1	9	3	0	6
IV. UNITED STATES:					
1. Battleships	0	0	0	0	0
2. Cruisers	0	0	1	0	0
3. Destroyers	0	1	0	0	1
4. Submarines	0	0	0	0	1
5. Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0
6. Auxiliaries	0	2	0	0	2
Total	0	3	1	0	5
V. JAPAN:					
1. Battleships	0	0	0	0	2
2. Cruisers	0	0	0	0	2
3. Destroyers	0	0	1	0	1
4. Submarines	0	0	0	0	0
5. Miscellaneous	0	1	0	0	1
6. Auxiliaries	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	1	1	0	6
VI. RUSSIA:					
1. Battleships	1	0	1	0	2
2. Cruisers	0	2	1	0	0
3. Destroyers	1	1	7	0	1
4. Submarines	0	0	0	1	6
5. Miscellaneous	2	1	0	0	2
6. Auxiliaries	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	4	9	1	11
Grand total for Allies	33	100	66	2	108

This is one of the reasons for the inhumane method of submarine warfare as practiced by the Germans. In these waters, close to their bases, the smaller, short-radius submarines could also operate, but the attacked craft could generally summon aid if warned. This meant that the torpedo was generally relied upon under these conditions.

The other reason was, of course, that the Germans believed in and practiced terrorism as a part of their war philosophy. In Belgium the results were rather satisfactory: German communications were rendered secure with a minimum of troops. This fact does not condone the practice of terrorism, but it does indicate that inhuman methods were not so much a necessary part of submarine war as of German war methods. For example: there is no inherent quality in the submarine that makes the gunning of survivors in lifeboats—an unproved charge, by the way—necessary and the employment of submarines did not force the Germans to sink hospital ships.

LARGE CRUISING SUBMARINES

A study of Tables "B" and "C" will prove enlightening. Table "B" shows a marked relation between the use of the torpedo in narrow seas and the use of the gun in more open waters. Table "C" shows the percentage sunk by different methods off our Atlantic coast, where anti-submarine measures were impracticable. (The original draft of the chart on page 191 shows graphically how, in general, the use of the torpedo predominated in the closely patrolled areas, while in the more open waters the gun and bomb were relied upon.)

As a matter of fact, the conditions in the war were peculiar. It was the geographical situation and the German mentality or morality that gave the submarine war its character. This is rendered more apparent by the methods employed in the open seas, where the larger types of submarines were able to operate. Humane methods under these conditions are actually more effective. Except for the converted Deutschland, the new cruising submarines were only built in 1918. They numbered only eight. They were of 2,700 tons, had eighteen knots surface speed, carried six-inch guns and had a radius of 20,000 miles. A crew of over 100 was carried. These characteristics largely determined their tactics, for they could keep the seas for months at a time; they had the advantage in speed over 95 per cent. of merchant ships, and their guns outranged 99 per cent. of all armed merchantmen. To sink by torpedo, without warning, was unnecessary, costly and inefficient. Only a limited number of torpedoes could be carried. To capture by threat of gunfire and to board and use a bomb was not only more effective but more economical. On the other hand, to capture conferred other advantages. Stores could be taken, the captured ship could be used as a base and part of the crew rested and become refreshed as a prize crew, and when the passengers and crews of other ships that had been sunk filled the prize she could be freed to proceed to port. This was actually done. The U-140 carried a special prize crew. The U-156 captured the Canadian trawler Triumph, armed her and used her as a raider. The same submarine captured the schooner

NAVAL CRAFT SUNK

TABLE "A"—Continued

	By Gunfire.	By Sub- marine.	By Mine.	By Air- craft.	All Other.
VII. GERMANY:					
1. Battleships	1	0	0	0	3
2. Cruisers	12	4	3	0	4
3. Destroyers	22	7	12	2	11
4. Submarines	(?)	(20)	(?)	(?)	(?)
5. Miscellaneous	4	0	0	0	6
6. Auxiliaries	19	2	4	0	9
Total	58	13	19	2	33
VIII. AUSTRIA:					
1. Battleships	0	0	0	0	3
2. Cruisers	1	1	0	0	1
3. Destroyers	2	5	1	1	1
4. Submarines	3	4	1	3	4
5. Miscellaneous	0	0	1	0	1
6. Auxiliaries	1	0	1	0	0
Total	7	10	4	4	10
IX. TURKEY:					
1. Battleships	0	2	0	0	0
2. Gunboats	6	4	3	0	2
3. Destroyers	1	1	1	1	2
4. Submarines	0	0	0	0	0
5. Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	1
6. Auxiliaries	0	1	0	0	11
Total	7	8	4	1	16
Grand total Cen- tral Powers	72	31	27	7	59
Grand total all combatants	105	131	93	9	167

TABLE "B"

SINKINGS OF MERCHANT SHIPS BY SUBMARINES FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1917

Area.	Sunk by Torpedo.	Sunk by Gunfire.
Atlantic	51	65
North Sea	19	7
Channel	30	16
Mediterranean	21	16
Total	121	104

TABLE "C"

VESSELS SUNK BY SUBMARINES IN AMERICAN WATERS

By torpedo	14
By gunfire	13
By bomb	63
By mine	7
Burned	2
Captured	1
Total	100

Willie G. and set her free with the crew of the British steamer Eric, who had been prisoners on the U-boat.

In short, the modern cruising submarine, because of its size, radius, speed and armament, is a more efficient cruiser than any surface type possibly can be, because it can keep the sea longer and can conceal itself at will. If it resorts to inhuman methods, it is not because its limitations force it to do so, but because it prefers such methods.

If, then, the submarine and aircraft threaten the British Navy and the integrity of the British Empire, the solution is not to rely upon agreements based upon a misunderstanding of facts, but to build those craft which are the most effective enemies to submarines and aircraft—submarines and aircraft.

THREE APT APHORISMS

Finally, to return to the subject of national policy in its relation to naval policy,

both for the British Empire and for the United States there is great advantage to be gained from considering these in the light of history. For Great Britain, the speech of the Corinthians to the Athenians, B. C. 433, is worthy of reflection:

"To do no injustice to a neighbor is a surer source of strength than to gain a momentary advantage under the influence of expediency."

And for the United States, it would be an advantage to learn from the experience of others and to profit by the lesson learned by the Corcyraeans:

"The policy of not making alliances lest they should endanger us at another's bidding, instead of being wisdom, as we once fancied, has now unmistakably proved to be weakness and folly."

And this for us both:

"You should, if possible, allow no one to have a fleet but yourselves, or, if this is impossible, whoever is strongest at sea, make him your friend."

CURRENT AFRICAN EXPLORATIONS

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

ALTHOUGH Bruenau de Laborie, the famous French explorer who has just returned from a journey across the Sahara, says there is nothing left to explore, several expeditions are actively engaged in researches in Central Africa. The Duke of Orleans is endeavoring to discover the mysterious graveyard of elephants understood to contain the greatest accumulation of ivory in the world. Whenever an elephant feels the approach of death, he retreats to a certain secret place, yet undiscovered, to die in peace. No remains of an elephant that has ever succumbed to old age or sickness have ever been found. Natives and explorers hold that somewhere west of the Sudan there exists a graveyard to which they all go.

Lady Dorothy Mills, daughter of the Earl of Orford and granddaughter of D. C. Corbin of New York, is on an expedition to the remote regions of the southeastern Sahara to discover the habits of mysterious white cave men, first reported by Captain de St. Maurice last year.

President Millerand of France left Paris on March 30 for an extended tour in North Africa through the hinterland of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis to pay tribute to the African troops who aided France and the great war and to encourage the development of public works.

A number of Americans and Frenchmen interested in archaeology are planning to begin extensive restoration work on the site of ancient Carthage, their first object being to find the grave of Hannibal, who lies buried in his armor among the ruined tombs.

Carl E. Akeley returned to New York early in April after six months spent in the haunts of gorillas in the eastern end of the Belgian Congo, west of Victoria Nyanza, collecting specimens and photographs for the American Museum of Natural History. With Mr. Akeley were three women and a six-year-old girl, the first white women who had ever penetrated to that part of Africa.

Belgium has opened a gold mine at Kilo Moto, employing more than 6,000 natives and 100 whites, thirty tons of gold having been extracted, according to a report by Vice Governor Moulaert.

The Portuguese West African colony of Angola has granted permanent oil rights to the Sinclair Consolidated Oil Corporation over an area of nearly 70,000 square miles, about the size of the State of Oklahoma, in a strip along the West Coast extending about 600 miles north and south. Several wells are being drilled.

FACING THE FACTS OF PROHIBITION

BY WAYNE B. WHEELER, LL. D.

General Counsel and Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America

Latest figures from all parts of the country showing a decrease of about 50 per cent. in the arrests for drunkenness—Improvement in health and general welfare—Progress in enforcing the law

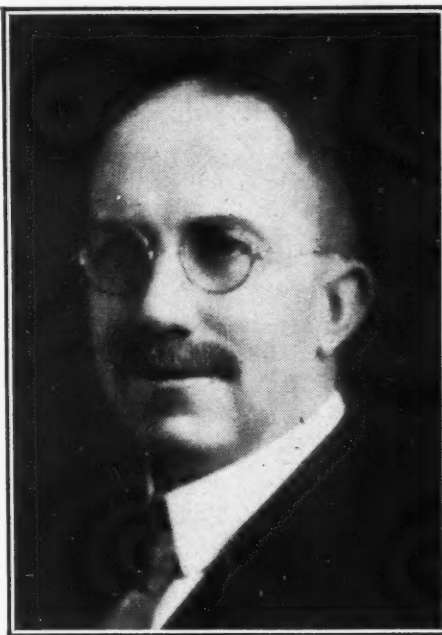
IS prohibition a success? Many entertaining and versatile writers answer this question with an emphatic "No." I shall answer the same question in the affirmative and try to stick to facts. I shall speak from twenty-eight years' experience in dealing with this question. I have been Secretary, secret service operative, organizer, district and State superintendent, general counsel and legislative superintendent of the movement which has met the liquor interests at each stage of this fight for over a quarter of a century, and we have won in every contention.

Facts, not theories, are interesting to hard-headed Americans. Thus far we have had only partially enforced prohibition. The law went into effect during the war, when conditions were unsettled. Immediately thereafter the national political conventions were held, and prohibition was made a political football until the November election. Then a new Administration was installed; the old force knew

it would be changed; and its morale was broken. The new force is now organized, and we shall have a better opportunity to find out what prohibition will do in the next two or three years than heretofore.

The National Prohibition act is not a novel, drastic statute. It is based on the experience of thirty-two States which tried out State prohibition before we had national prohibition. There is not a provision in the law that was not deemed necessary to enforcement from an actual test. The principal provision which is considered unreasonable is the definition of intoxicating liquor, fixing one-half of 1 per cent. as the alcoholic content limit. This standard was adopted because experience in dry States proved it was

necessary in order to have effective law enforcement. Many of the States had prohibited all liquors, regardless of their alcoholic content; thirty-seven States prohibited liquors of an alcoholic content of one-half of 1 per cent. or more. Congress faced the problem of



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WAYNE B. WHEELER, LL. D.

ignoring the experience of these States or acting upon it. If Congress had set the standard at 1 or 2 per cent. it would not have legalized the sale of liquor in the States which prohibited liquor with a one-half of 1 per cent. or less standard. It would have led the uninformed in those States to believe that they could sell what Congress fixed as the standard under the Federal law. That would cause confusion and encourage lawlessness. Not only did Congress reach this conclusion correctly, based on experience and reason, but the voters in the States which have had referendum elections on this question have reached the same conclusion. The light wine and beer proposal has been submitted to the voters of a number of prohibition States in the last few years, and in each instance the vote against allowing the return of beer and wine has been greater than the majority cast originally for prohibition. This was true in Ohio, Arizona, Oregon and Colorado. Washington's majority against a beer and wine amendment was 216,000 and Michigan's majority was 207,000 against it.

The National Prohibition act, which is the effective tool for enforcing prohibition, may be new to some parts of the United States and to some it may seem a sharp instrument, but there is no wire edge on it. It was forged on the anvil of experience.

RESULTS OF THE LAW

The first important social result obtained from prohibition is that arrests and convictions for drunkenness have decreased. This is the principal evil at which prohibition is aimed. Any policy of Government relating to the liquor traffic which materially decreases drunkenness is tending in the right direction. In making comparisons, the last full wet year, 1917, is used to compare with 1921, unless some other year is more typical.

In the year 1921 the City of Boston had 72,89 arrests for drunkenness; in 1921 it had 30,987. The total for 1920 and 1921 combined is less than that for any full single license year. In 1918 Cincinnati had 14,070 arrests for drunkenness; in 1921 something over 500. In Milwaukee drunkenness, drunk and disorderly conduct combined, gave these figures:

4,738 in 1917, 3,385 in 1921. The arrests for drunkenness in 1917 in St. Louis were 4,958, in 1921, 993. In Washington, D. C., from November, 1917, to November, 1918, the arrests for drunkenness numbered 10,793; during the fiscal year ending July 1, 1921, the number was 5,765.

The official records of New York City give the number of arrests for intoxication in 1917 as 13,844. In 1921 the arrests for this cause were 6,247.

The police records of Cheyenne, Wyoming, present the following comparison between wet and dry years:

	1917.	1921.
Arrests for drunkenness.....	907	150
Arrests for disorderly conduct.....	849	211
Aggregate for all crimes.....	3,072	1,341

The population of San Francisco, Cal., increased about 10 per cent. from 1916 to 1921, but the arrests for drunkenness decreased from 15,106 to 5,530.*

These cases cited from different sections of the country are typical. Comparing the last wet year with 1921, we find a decrease of approximately 50 per cent. in the arrests for drunkenness. This is a striking contrast to the conditions in countries like England, where the official report

* Mayors of a number of cities gave the following answers, early in April, 1922, to a questionnaire sent out by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, through The Union Signal, Chicago:

George E. Cryer, Mayor of Los Angeles—General effects of prohibition in the City of Los Angeles and Southern California are good. This city has benefited materially because of the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Juvenile delinquency and domestic relations have both improved. Charity organizations report less destitution.

John McNabb, Grand Rapids—Prohibition has been of great advantage to the big industries in promoting greater efficiency and more steady work among employees. It has increased thrift.

Newton C. Brainard, Hartford—My opinion is that prohibition has already been a great boon to the community.

Fred Atwater, Bridgeport—A benefit to Bridgeport home life, and industrial efficiency improved.

H. H. Barton, Des Moines—Prohibition is a thrift promoter. Juvenile delinquency has had marked decrease.

Felix Z. Wilson, Nashville—The unemployment situation would be much worse under the old saloon conditions.

Houston Quinn, Louisville—Prohibition has definitely benefited Louisville. Commitments to the workhouse the last year before national prohibition were 2,022. The first year after prohibition the figure was only 376.

J. C. Walton, Oklahoma City—We have many more happy homes than we had before it (the saloon) was abolished.

Leroy Harvey, Wilmington, Del.—I do not think any fair-minded person can question the good already accomplished in the short time since we have banned liquor.

filed with Parliament showed an increase in the convictions for drunkenness in 1920 of 65.26 per cent. and where Dr. Templeman, Surgeon of Police, reports 461 cases which have come under his observation where little children or babies were killed by being overlaid by mothers too drunk even to hear their pitiful cries. It comes with poor grace, therefore, for our English visitors to be criticising our prohibition policy, which is decreasing drunkenness at the same rate that England is increasing it.

Recent surveys made by those unfriendly to prohibition prove that it is a success. The first article of The New York Herald survey admitted that there was a decrease in the consumption of beverage liquor under the Eighteenth Amendment of 70 per cent. Another survey made through the Cosmopolitan Magazine states that the number of drinkers of intoxicants has decreased from about 20,000,000 under the license system to 2,500,000 under national prohibition. A policy of government that makes such a showing is not a failure, but a success. When prohibition is universally enforced and observed, the results will be proportionately greater.

In the discussion of the results of prohibition two factors must not be overlooked. First, in many States with the more populous centres, such as Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, New Orleans, there has been no State code to enforce prohibition until recently, and a few States do not yet have enforcement codes. Enforcement activities were limited to a few Federal agents. Where enforcement codes have been adopted the co-operation of national, State and municipal officers will tend to better enforcement of the law. The other factor is that many States were under State prohibition before the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. In such States as great a reduction in the number of arrests could not reasonably be expected as in States where the sale of liquor had been licensed.

If you follow newspaper accounts of crime, you will find many of the sensational crimes have their origin in liquor. This does not prove that prohibition provokes crime—it proves what the dries have always said, that *alcohol* provokes crime,

and it should be an added incentive to do away absolutely and completely with every form of alcoholic beverage.

HEALTH OF THE NATION

Science has demonstrated that intoxicating liquor is a narcotic, water-absorbing, irritating drug or poison. It is detrimental to health. The American Medical Association discourages its use even as a medicine. In the following figures showing the deaths from alcoholism in New York City, 1918 is omitted because influenza influenced mortality statistics, and war restrictions had already begun to affect the mortality; 1919 is omitted because half of it was under license and half under war prohibition:

DEATHS FROM ALCOHOLISM

1916	687
1917	560
1921	119
Average decrease (per cent.).....	80

The Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the New York State Board of Charities for the year 1920 quotes the superintendent of a large city hospital as giving a representative impression of the influence of prohibition:

(a) Patients. The intoxicated lodging house type is seldom seen now. In the psychopathic service a marked decrease in the number of admissions for alcoholism is noted.

(b) Employees. A marked change for the better is noted in their appearance, conduct and performance of duties. They remain longer in the service.

The year 1921 was the healthiest in the United States, according to figures submitted by thirty-seven leading insurance companies, which transact about 80 per cent. of the life insurance business of the country. The figures for the first ten months indicate a lowering of the death rate among policy holders from 9.8 in 1920 to 8.24 in 1921.

In the hospitals for the insane in Ohio, of the total admissions in 1911, 11.8 per cent. were attributed to alcohol, while in 1921 the percentage from the same cause was 2.7.

WELFARE FACTS

Intoxicating liquor is a menace to the general welfare. It has always been detrimental to the health, wealth and happi-

ness of the people. Its elimination means better home conditions, decreased cruelty and increased welfare and happiness of the people.

Drink was a factor under license, in 1917, in 27 per cent. of the cases handled by the Boston Family Welfare Society. In 1920 only 2½ per cent. of the cases were due to this cause, and for the first seven months of 1921 (figures available for this period only) the percentage of cases in which drink was a factor was 2½.

The Survey sent out a questionnaire to family welfare agencies in the autumn of 1921 as to the rôle unemployment and other problems were playing in destitution. In the summary of replies (Oct. 15, 1921) the Survey said:

The little stress placed at the present time upon intemperance as a contributing factor in poverty is one of the interesting points brought out by replies to the questionnaire. Stockton Raymond, General Secretary of the Family Welfare Society of Boston, states that "one fact stands out above all others. Intemperance under prohibition has been a decreasing factor in the work of the Family Welfare Society." It has thus been possible for the organization "to undertake a great amount of constructive and preventive work instead of wasting time trying to alleviate suffering which could not fail to exist under such an evil as licensed liquor selling."

The Charity Organization Society of New York City found in 1916, in 3,000 families, 598 adversely affected by intemperance, or 19.9 per cent.; in 1921, out of 2,346 families, 187, or 7.9 per cent., were affected by intemperance.

C. C. Carstens of New York, head of the Child Welfare League of America, says: "The number of neglected children removed through court action from families where one or both parents drank has been materially decreased. This decrease is so marked that in certain cities reports come to them that drunkenness has ceased to be a factor for the removal of children."

In a report made at Indianapolis by the Superintendent of schools, E. U. Grass, he declared that teachers are unanimous in their opinion that since prohibition pupils are better fed, better clothed, more regular in attendance, more punctual, less anemic, healthier and happier.

Commander Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army says that there is a marked improvement in the condition of young

children; that the better prenatal care of mothers, more food, improved clothing, more money, and the absence of inebriation all tell in the life's chance of the infants.

President Harding's views on this subject are as follows:

In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid, that men take home the wages that once were wasted in saloons, that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point, what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories.

ECONOMIC RESULTS

Intoxicating liquor has been a liability economically. It has decreased productive power, increased accidents, disease and waste. The revenue derived from it in taxes was the most costly money secured by the Government.

It is difficult to measure in dollars and cents the economic results of prohibition because of the abnormal financial conditions throughout the whole world. It is well to remember at the outset that the United States has stopped, through prohibition, a large waste of food, fuel and funds used in making a harmful beverage and is financing and feeding starving Europe to a large extent. It is also well to keep in mind that, even if we had the money to feed Europe, we might not have the food to do so if we had not stopped the waste of 16,655,125 bushels of grain in making distilled liquors and 1,909,998,457 pounds of food material in making fermented liquor.

The people of this country, by the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, decided that drinking intoxicating liquor was a means both in war and in peace; that as it reduced the efficiency of soldiers in time of war, it, for the same reason, reduced the efficiency of men in the factories, shops, mines, farms and offices; that saloons should no longer be tolerated as the rendezvous of the assassins of democracy; that politics should be purified of saloon and brewery influences, and they declared that they were tired of witnessing

the woe and poverty of the cities traceable to the liquor traffic.

Here are some other items that we should take into account: This nation was spending \$2,500,000,000 a year for intoxicating liquors, an expenditure which added nothing to its health, wealth or productivity. It is also conservatively estimated that the indirect loss from the liquor traffic in increased accidents, loss of time, cost of liquor-produced criminals, and broken homes, amounted to more than the direct cost. The most expensive item in a nation's budget is that of wrecked lives.

The Controller of the Currency stated that in 1921 in 623 mutual savings banks there was an increase of 173,933 depositors and \$388,336,000 in the amount deposited.

The net increased wealth, computed by subtracting the amount consumed from the amount produced, was \$8,000,000,000 last year, according to Professor David Friday, President-elect of the Michigan State College of Agriculture, and during the war an expert in the Treasury. In pre-war and pre-prohibition days the largest amount of national savings or net increased wealth was about \$3,000,000,000.

Reports from Milwaukee, which had more breweries per foot, and drank more beer per stomach, than any other city, are to the effect that they saved more money per head than almost any other State and city under prohibition. The Milwaukee Journal of June 26, 1921, says in an editorial: "Deposits in the country's savings banks increased 9 per cent. in 1920. The greater part of this gain, as was inevitable, was made during the first half of the year; but there was a gain, and Wisconsin ranked first, with an increase of 26 per cent."

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

Industrial conditions are admittedly bad, but prohibition is not to blame for that. What has happened to the 177,790 saloons which heretofore were treating and drinking places for the people? Also, what is being done with the 1,090 breweries and 236 distilleries? Not all of them are used for industrial purposes, but the large majority of them are used for constructive purposes of greater benefit to the people than the total number of liquor shops and distilleries in pre-prohibition days.

In spite of the difficulties in law enforcement in Chicago, the contrast between present conditions and those that prevailed before prohibition became effective are marvelous. Former saloon sites by the hundreds, which occupied principal corners and choice business locations, have been turned into candy shops, restaurants, clothing establishments, cigar stands, meat shops and numerous other kinds of retail and wholesale merchandise establishments. The Philadelphia North American is authority for the statement that in that city, soon after prohibition became operative, more than twenty-six saloon properties changed hands at a profit of over 50 per cent. on the estimated value under the saloon régime.

A most remarkable economic transformation as a result of prohibition has been experienced by New York City. A survey of Sixth Avenue showed that in 1918 there were fifty-eight saloons and twelve liquor stores on that street. On Aug. 5, 1921, it was found that of the sixteen saloons still in business, three had rented from one-third to one-half of their property. Forty of the former saloons and six former liquor stores have been renovated and turned into 142 stores. The thirty-four corner properties have been substituted by 108 stores. The Wallick Hotel, in May, 1920, declined to renew a lease it held at the corner of Forty-third and Broadway, which place had been occupied by the hotel as a café, because of prohibition. Thereupon, a clothing company leased the property for twenty years for more than twice the annual rental which the property had previously commanded. Ridgewood is a typical German section of New York and had the reputation of having more saloons to the average square than any other portion of the city. The entire district has been transformed. A large number of small co-operative factories have sprung up, which, to a large degree, occupy the same corners and sites which were formerly occupied by saloons.

There is an organized effort on the part of the brewers and some representatives of organized labor to overturn the prohibition policy and bring back beer and wine. This means bringing back over 90 per cent. of the traffic, and we do not believe that the demand for it comes from the rank and file of labor itself. Congressman John G.

Cooper, a labor leader of long standing, answered the statement of Mr. Gompers on this issue as follows:

It is not the working people of our country who are clamoring for the return of the liquor traffic. It is a known fact that, during the last six years, whenever the question has been voted upon in industrial States and the great manufacturing centres, prohibition of the liquor traffic has been sustained by increasing majorities.

Labor has been the beneficiary of prohibition as much as, or more than, any other class. More labor temples have been built under prohibition, State and national, than were built altogether in pre-prohibition days. As long as the saloon keeper could keep organized labor divided and its meeting place over the saloon, labor never presented a united front. Labor organizations led by men with sober minds and with a united front have made more headway in fighting for their rights under prohibition than when liquor dominated.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The question uppermost in the minds of many people is, Can the prohibition laws be enforced? Is the crime wave caused by prohibition? When we consider that the crime wave is not confined to the United States, but covers the whole world, this question is answered. European nations, swamped with liquor, are having more trouble with crime waves than the United States.

Every war has been followed by a crime wave. Very early in the history of this country, from 1793 to 1796, when the fires of the Revolutionary War had barely burned low, there was an outbreak of crime and anarchy such as we have not witnessed since. Taking advantage of the troublous times, the liquor interests staged the "Whisky Rebellion" in 1794, when an attempt was made to place a tax on liquor, and Washington had to send a force of loyal Virginians, under Lee, who was known to be an "awkward man in a row," to suppress the uprising.

There has been no such outbreak since the last war, but it is hard to conjecture what might have been the situation if 177,790 saloons had been open and the unrest of today had been allowed to be centred in them. The anarchist, the bomb-thrower and the radical opponent of orderly government thrive best when reason is dethroned by beer.

While there are many officers of the law who are not doing their duty, and some actually protecting lawbreakers, yet on the whole officers of the law are facing this organized effort to defy the Eighteenth Amendment with courage and efficiency. The Federal Prohibition Unit is composed of a little over 1,000 inspectors and agents whose duty it is to secure evidence against violators. They are making a creditable showing; 30,000 cases have been started within the last year; 21,000 convictions have resulted, with 17,000 pleas of guilty and 950 acquittals. The prohibitive taxes assessed on law violators amounted to \$57,500,000, with approximately \$3,000,000 collected.

In spite of the confusion about what

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

HELP—THE DYKE IS LEAKING!

constitutes legal search warrants and the timidity of some Federal officers in using them, almost 1,000,000 gallons of distilled spirits and wines were seized during the year and other property levied on for payment of taxes amounting to \$12,907,000. This does not include the cases brought under State and local laws and the fines collected thereunder. A number of States have strong law enforcement departments.

In Ohio the State Prohibition Commissioner and his deputies have collected, in fines and forfeited bonds, during the first six months of 1921, an amount which would cover all the expenses of their office for the next four years. In the first nine months of operation, with only twenty inspectors and at a total annual cost of \$106,000, 2,875 places were inspected, 1,485 convictions secured, resignations of fifteen public officials obtained, six men indicted and fifty reprimanded.

Villages, cities and in some places counties are enacting ordinances to provide that a certain percentage of the fines shall be used to help enforce the law. There is a growing determination on the part of all

honest officers that this law shall be enforced. That determination will be strengthened by the interest of the people in standing for law and order. Slowly but surely the average citizen is coming to realize that "obedience to law is liberty; defiance of law is anarchy." An increasing number of people who opposed the Eighteenth Amendment are taking an open stand for law and order. Unless this position is taken and sustained, the Government itself is in jeopardy. A conviction is being written in the hearts of the people that every personal and property right we have is dependent upon the enforcement of our laws. A good citizen or a good officer cannot choose between the laws he will obey or enforce and those he will defy.

The enforcement of prohibition is not a local matter; it is a national matter. We had to put manacles on the liquor hierarchy to help win the World War, and we must keep it in manacles in a time of peace, to win the victories of peace.

Within the last month I have been in direct communication with the Governors and Attorneys General of the States, the Federal Prohibition Directors and the United States District Attorneys. Of the 136 replies received, 119 are emphatic in saying that public sentiment is growing stronger in favor of prohibition enforcement and that the officers are co-operating and doing their duty. Statements like these were found among the replies:

Governor Preus of Minnesota: "Public officials should be given full support by the people of our State in every earnest effort they make to enforce the law, and the more vigorously they act the more they should be commended."

Governor McRae of Arkansas: "Prohibition is stronger in Arkansas today than it was a year ago. We do not want light wine and beer."

Governor Morgan of West Virginia: "I am quite sure that I am voicing the sentiments of the great mass of law-abiding citi-

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

THE HOPELESS TASK OF SISYPHUS

zens of West Virginia when I state she does not desire to return to the saloon, not even under the hypocritical mask of beer and light wines."

Attorney General Gibson of Iowa: "We are frankly of the opinion that the enforcement of the prohibitory laws of this State is being carried on with marked success."

Attorney General Wiley of Michigan: "The prohibition law can be enforced. All it needs is public officials with a sense of public duty, brains and courage."

Attorney General Payne of South Dakota: "I believe the law is being better enforced at the present time than at any time since its passage. I find a better sentiment among the people generally. * * * It is easier to get convictions."

Commissioner of Prohibition Smith of Virginia: "Conditions are improving wonderfully year by year and the officials are becoming more active in apprehending violators. * * * The courts and juries are meting out larger fines and sentences."

Federal Director Bowen of South Carolina: "Public sentiment generally is demanding a strict enforcement of the law."

Federal Director Daily of Mississippi: "I am exceedingly pleased so far with the attitude of the officers of the law, the courts, and the press in this State, and can see nothing which would point to a hostility toward prohibition."

United States Attorney Coles of Pennsylvania: "I think there is an increasing determination on the part of all Federal officers as well as State District Attorneys

to bring home to our people generally the realization that the prohibition laws must be obeyed."

United States Attorney Hayward of New York: "I think we all feel that, difficult as the task has been, we are really making progress."*

We must not be misled by the widespread propaganda to the effect that the people are drinking as much as ever, and that officers of the law are protecting bootleggers and rum-runners. At least 80 per cent. of the officers in the United States are doing their duty. Ten per cent. more of them would do so if they were given the proper support by the people. Possibly 10 per cent. are corrupt and should be removed from office or convicted of conspiring with others in violation of the law. More than a score of such officers are now in the penitentiary. The average American, be he private citizen or public official, believes in law and order. This is the hope of our Republic, and in that hope we shall not be disappointed.

[An article presenting the views of the opponents of the present prohibition enforcement law will appear in the next issue of CURRENT HISTORY.]

* The first annual report of the Statistical Bureau of the Legal Department of the Anti-Saloon League of New York, made public on April 6, 1922, shows that there were 6,786 indictments for violations of the prohibition laws in both the State and Federal courts in New York State during 1921. Of this number 3,043 were State indictments and 3,743 Federal indictments. Of the total 6,786 indictments, 531 were dismissed, 149 acquitted, 2,581 were still pending, and 3,525 resulted in convictions. These convictions were divided in the proportion of 1,588 for the State courts and 1,937 for the Federal courts.

PROHIBITION IN FRENCH WESTERN AFRICA

A RECENT interpellation in the British Commons brought out the fact that the French Administration in French Western Africa (including Dahomey), by a decree dated Dec. 24, 1921, had introduced prohibition in this territory. In commenting on this interpellation the Paris Temps stated that the decree would soon be extended to Togo. The Temps added that the taxes on alcohol, which were high before 1920, had since been tripled and even quadrupled. The main pre-occupation of

the British Government is to see that the terms of the St. Germain Treaty of 1919 shall be interpreted in the same way in both the French and the British mandates. The British interpellator presented evidence to show that difference of interpretation had led to considerable British loss of revenue. The British Government at once began investigating the situation, with a view to effecting a complete understanding with the French authorities in Western Africa.

WHAT GERMANY MUST PAY IN REPARATIONS

A total of nearly six and a half billion gold marks handed over to the Allies by the end of 1921—Over two hundred millions in cash since then—Two billions more demanded in 1922

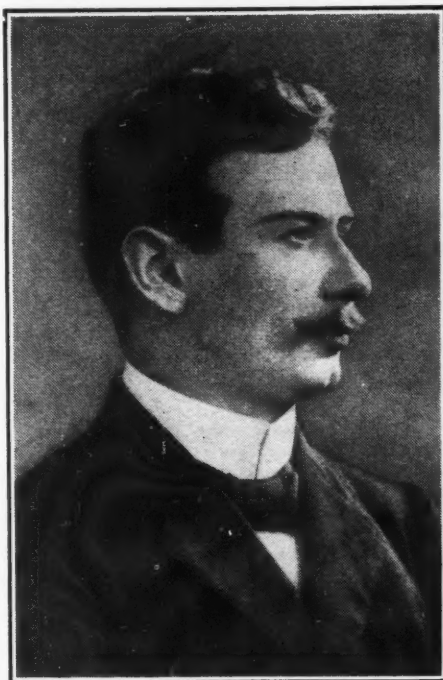
THE question of German reparation payments was still in an acute stage when this summary of the situation was written (April 12, 1922). The Reparation Commission of the Allies on March 21 had issued a communiqué—the text of which is given below—fixing definitely the demands upon Germany for 1922. The German Chancellor in an address before the Reichstag on March 28 had characterized these demands as “an utterly impossible and presumptuous condition”; he was upheld by the Foreign Minister the next day, and the Reichstag supported him by a vote that was practically unanimous, except for the Communist members; yet in the face of this indignant protest the Reichstag, on April 4, finally passed the Government's new taxation measures; including a compulsory loan of 1,000,000,000 gold marks after three years, intended to cover the budget expenditure for 1922, and at the same time repealing the tax on post-war profits; the Government introduced also, on April 5, in accordance with the demand of the Allies, a bill to dissociate the Reichsbank from Government control. These measures indicate that, while protesting

against the requirements of the commission, the German Government is trying to fulfill the main conditions.

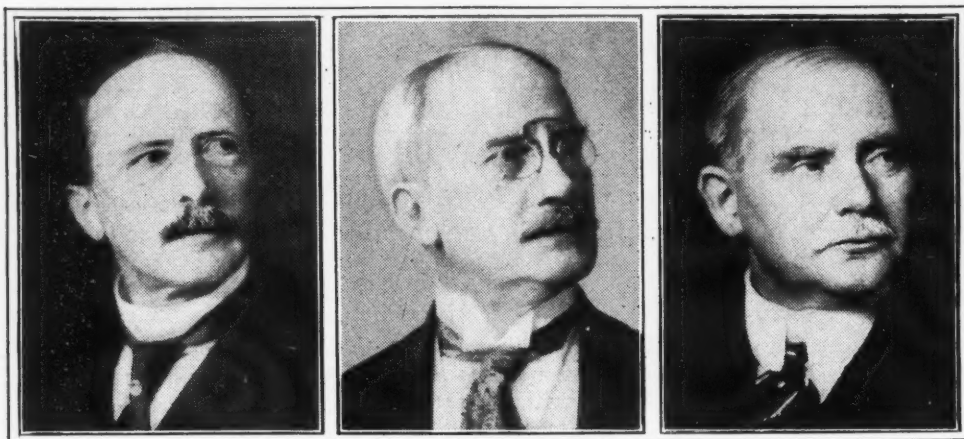
To convey a better idea of the progress of the negotiations, a brief review of the preceding discussions and agreements is essential.

In November, 1921, it was officially recognized that Germany was unable to pay the sums fixed for reparation under the agreement reached at London in May, 1921. In September, after visiting Berlin, the Guarantees Committee had become convinced that Germany would not be able to pay the January instalment. In November the Reparation Commission itself showed that it was traveling in the same direction. On Nov. 15 Germany had to pay the quarterly instalment of 25 per cent. of the value of her exports. France had declared that the sum due was 510,000,000 gold marks, but the Reparation Commission decided that it was 255,000,000 gold marks, and it gave Germany a moratorium until Dec. 1 for completing the payment.

On Dec. 14 the German Government officially notified the Reparation Commission that it would be unable to pay the instalment of 500,000,-



DR. JOSEPH WIRTH
German Chancellor, head of the Government that is trying to pay the Allies' reparation claims



(Gilliams Service)

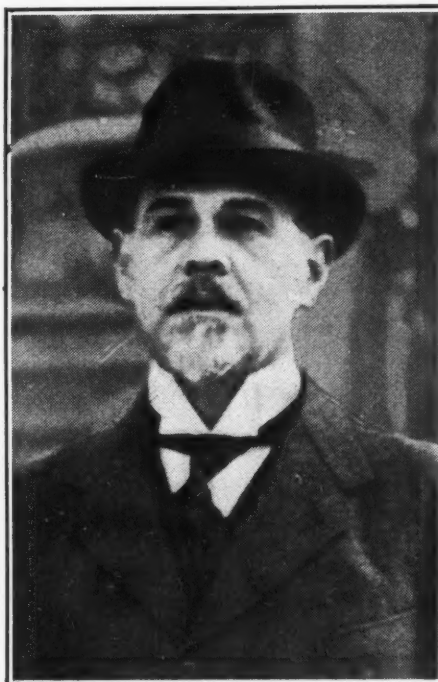
New photographs of German statesmen. Left to right: (1) Dr. Walter Simons, former Foreign Minister, now head of the Silesian Commission. (2) Rudolph Oeser, Prussian Minister of Public Works. (3) Herr von Lewald, Under Secretary of the Interior, one of the most forceful members of the Wirth Government

000 gold marks which would become due on Jan. 15, or the other instalments which would fall due at intervals of three months during 1922. It proposed for the January instalment—and also for the February instalment of 25 per cent. of the value of the exports—a payment of from 150,000,000 to 200,000,000 gold marks. The commission asked for further particulars with regard to the German proposal and the position of the German Government, and a correspondence ensued on these points.

But meanwhile the allied Governments themselves began to consider the question, and there was a conference in London toward the end of December, at which proposals were worked out which were to be submitted to the conference at Cannes. These propo-

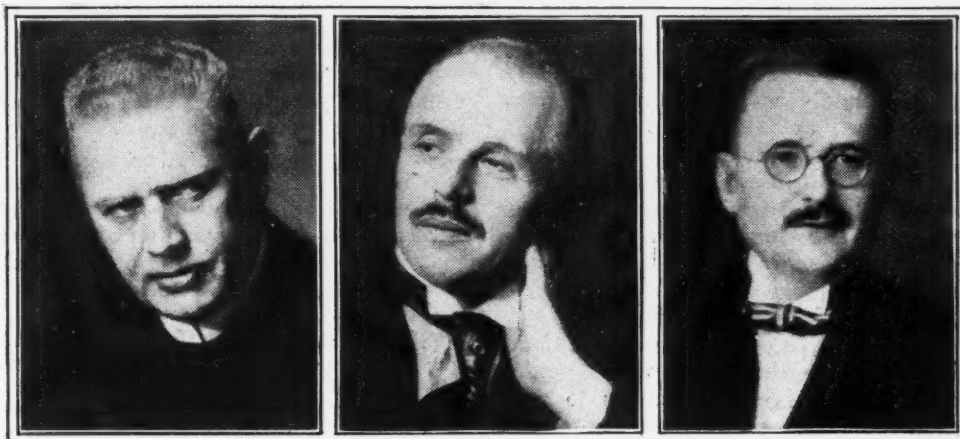
sals were not considered to be a binding agreement, but only suggestions to be put before the Allies at Cannes. The principle of a moratorium was accepted, and Ger-

many's liability to pay reparation as originally imposed was admitted. The most important points in the suggestions were as follows: (1) The Allies would fix the total sum to be paid by Germany in money during 1922 at 500,000,000 gold marks, compared with 2,000,000,000, plus 25 per cent. of the value of German exports previously demanded. (2) The Allies would agree to payments in kind being made to France under the Wiesbaden agreement for a period of three years, provided that the value of such payments should not exceed 1,250,000,000 gold marks in 1922



(Times Wide World Photo)

DR. WALTER RATHENAU
German Foreign Minister and a leading delegate both at Cannes and at Genoa.



(Gilliams Service)

Present Rulers of Germany, continued. Left to right: (1) Heinrich Brauns, Minister of Labor. (2) Dr. Gessler, Minister of National Defense. (3) Paul Lobe, President of the Reichstag, who wields the increased power of that office under the republic

and 1,500,000,000 in each subsequent year.

(3) Any other allied power might make a similar agreement with Germany, provided that the deliveries

in kind should not exceed 500,000,000 per year. (4) Great Britain made valuable concessions to France with regard to the agreement of Aug. 13, regarding the division of the first billion paid by Germany, an agreement which France had refused to ratify; Britain agreed that this billion should be pooled with the payments to be made in 1922, and that France be debited with the value of the Sarre mines in 1922 instead of in 1921; as a result, France would receive 200,000,000 out of the first billion, whereas, under the agreement of August, she would have received nothing.

When the conference met in Cannes, draft proposals of the British Government were placed before it. These proposals differed

in the following important respects from the London suggestions: The total payments in money to be made by Germany in 1922 were fixed at 720,000,000 gold marks instead of 500,000,000. In addition, Germany would make payments in kind which were not to exceed a total value of 1,450,000,000 gold marks. Within six weeks Germany was to submit to the Reparation Commission a program of measures for assuring autonomy to the Reichsbank, balancing the budget, abolishing subsidies and reforming the currency.

The discussion of these proposals was fixed to take place on Jan. 12. France



(Gilliams Service)

GUSTAV ADOLPH BAUER
Under Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, one of the men who have the task of meeting the reparations demands of the Allies

accepted the main principles, but desired to make the settlement in details more favorable to France. The fall of M. Briand, however, intervened, and the conference broke up without a decision.

When the Supreme Council dissolved, together with its "suggestions" and "drafts," the Reparation Commission was once more left alone in possession of the field. In two days' time Germany had to pay 500,000,000 gold marks; it had been now admitted by every one, from the Guarantees Committee up to the Supreme Council, that she could not pay, and yet no agreement had been reached as to what action the Allies should take before this complete breakdown of the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The commission granted a provisional moratorium to Germany, under which, in lieu of the January and February instalments, she was to pay a sum of 31,000,000 gold marks every ten days; up to March 16 seven of these payments were made as agreed. The commission also called upon Germany to submit to it within fifteen days proposals for the reform of the German budget and finances and a program of reparation payments for 1922.

GERMANY'S REPLY

The German Government replied at the end of January. As regards the program of payments, it took as a basis the figures proposed at Cannes, namely, payments during 1922 of 720,000,000 in money and 1,450,000,000 in kind. It pointed out that it would not be able to find the 720,000,000 without having recourse to an increase in the floating debt, an expedient inconsistent with financial reform. It therefore asked that the payments in money be fixed at a lower figure, the payments in kind being, if necessary, proportionally increased. The German Government also asked that the balance payable in money for 1922 after deduction of the amounts already paid under the provisional arrangement should be spread uniformly over the remainder of the year and be payable in equal monthly instalments.

The Reparation Commission could, under the treaty itself, have acted upon these proposals; but, presumably in view of the fact that the Supreme Council had so fre-

quently before taken the main question of reparations out of its hands, it simply forwarded the proposals to the allied Governments. Meanwhile the provisional moratorium continued in force.

FINAL DEMANDS OF ALLIES

The Reparation Commission on March 21, as stated at the beginning of this summary, conveyed its decision to the German Government. It was as follows:

1. Germany will pay in 1922:

(a) In currency: 720,000,000 gold marks, which sum will include payments already made amounting to 281,948,921 gold marks; the balance of 438,051,079 gold marks to be paid in instalments as follows: On March 15, 1922, 18,051,079 gold marks 51 pfennigs; on May 15, June 15, July 15, Aug. 15, Sept. 15, and Oct. 15, 50,000,000 gold marks; on Nov. 15 and Dec. 15, 60,000,000 gold marks.

(b) In kind: The equivalent in goods of 1,450,000,000 gold marks (950,000,000 for France and 500,000,000 for the other Allies). If the Reparation Commission finds that at any time in 1922 the deliveries in kind demanded by France or her subjects, or by any other power entitled to reparations, have not been made, equivalent payments in specie will be required of Germany at the end of 1922 in place of the deliveries that have not been made.

2. Payments in kind to powers who are creditors on account of armies of occupation made by Germany between May 15, 1921, and Dec. 31, 1922, will in the first place be credited to the account of the expenses of the armies of occupation during the same period, only the surplus being placed with the payments in currency to the account of the reparations annuity as defined in the schedule of payments of May 5, 1921.

3. The difference between the sums due and those actually paid in 1921 and 1922 will remain with interest at 5 per cent., an obligation which Germany will be required to meet as soon as the Reparation Commission shall deem her capable of doing so.

4. The suspension granted will be of a provisional character. On May 31 next the commission will decide, according to what has been done by Germany, as to the continuation or the annulment of the suspension. If it is annulled, the sums provisionally deferred will be demanded, and will have to be paid within the fourteen days following the cancellation. And if at any time subsequently the commission finds that Germany has failed to fulfill the conditions specified, the suspension will be annulled, and the schedule of payments of May 5, 1921, will again be put into force as from the date of annulment.

To the letter of the German Chancellor dated Jan. 28, 1922, the Reparation Commission replied, under date of March 21, 1922, with the following observations:

The declarations of the Chancellor, with a view to the establishment of equilibrium between ex-

penditure and revenue in the operations of the State, do not by a long way respond to Germany's obligations and her possibilities. It is the intention of the Reparation Commission to obtain from the German Government a far more profound reform of the finances of the empire and the definitive abandonment of the mistakes hitherto made. The ordinary administrative budget of the empire shows a favorable balance of 16,500,000,000 paper marks, and the extraordinary administrative and the public service budgets show a deficit of 12,250,000,000 paper marks. The peace treaty burdens budget, already 171,000,000,000 paper marks short, shows after adding the above deficit a total deficit of 183,250,000,000 paper marks. The provisional suspension today agreed to would reduce the deficit on the peace treaty budget to 126,000,000,000 paper marks, but this deficit would be largely exceeded in view of the paper mark's rate of exchange. The commission is of the opinion that from 1922 the budget of the empire should cover an important part of the payments thus reduced, the other part being covered by a contribution of capital raised either by way of a loan or by a direct levy.

Today's decision of the commission has as its object to facilitate the task of the German Government. Nevertheless, the plan of payments proposed is only provisional. As a definite scheme the plan is dependent on the following conditions:

(1) BUDGET OF THE EMPIRE

(a) The measures proposed, the date for which is fixed by the German note of Jan. 28, 1922, will be taken on the date fixed and, if that date has already passed without the measures having been taken, they shall be taken within fifteen days of the present notice.

(b) The new impost and taxes comprised in the fiscal compromise shall be voted and put into force before April 30 next.

(c) The German Government shall immediately draw up a scheme for increasing the taxes, which shall provide in 1922 and 1923 an addition to the revenue estimated in the budget of at least 60,000,000,000 paper marks.

This scheme voted and put into force before May 30, 1922, should before Dec. 31, 1922, ensure at least 40,000,000,000 of additional revenue. The commission will allow the German Government to choose the sources from which these new receipts shall be obtained. It desires, nevertheless, that the German Government shall adopt a system which shall avoid as far as possible a new and complicated estimate of the resources of the taxpayers.

CONTROL

(a) All the arrangements made to carry out these measures shall be immediately communicated to the Reparation Commission.

(b) Methods of application shall be considered between the delegates of the German Government and those of the Reparation Commission. This latter, should the necessity arise, will request Germany to take measures to meet the deficiencies, and will, in case of Germany's failure to do this within a reasonable period, proceed as it thinks fit.

REDUCTION OF EXPENDITURE—MEASURES TO BE TAKEN

During the month following the present notification the German Government shall present to the Reparation Commission a statement of the reduction of the expenditure figuring in the projected budget for 1922. The comprehensive scheme which is outlined in the proposals made in the communication of Jan. 28 can and must be understood in the sense of the diminution of expenditure which is not required for any pressing needs. In no case may the expenditure, except in exceptional cases of which immediate notification must be given to the commission, exceed the figures which appear in the estimate of revised expenditure.

The German Government shall establish in agreement with the Reparation Commission the control of expenditure provided for in the budget. The Committee of Guarantees will supervise the working of this control.

INTERNAL LOANS

The German Government shall establish before April 30, 1922, a scheme for the raising of internal loans, of which the sum total will correspond to the budgetary deficit until such time as the equilibrium of the budget be effected by the revenue from taxation.

EXTERNAL LOANS

These loans will be the subject of a separate communication. If the loans do not permit Germany after a reasonable period to mobilize a portion of her debt, the German Government will investigate in conjunction with the commission the necessary measures for carrying out a capital payment by other means.

THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL

From the present time until April 30 next the German Government shall present to the commission a statement of the measures devised to prevent the abuse of the export of capital and to render more efficacious the action of the German Government in the collecting of moneys and foreign specie derived from exports, and to ensure the return to Germany of their value in exchange, and also to bring about the return of capital exported abroad.

GERMAN CHANCELLOR'S REPLY

The Reparation Commission's note created a profound sensation in Germany. The press was bitterly hostile to it. The conditions were denounced in intemperate language by editors and publicists, but no word came from the Government until a few days later, when Chancellor Wirth, in the Reichstag, in a two hours' speech, foreshadowed that his Government would reject the demands. To many his speech sounded like a Teuton "declaration of independence" from allied control. Again and again it provoked the enthusiasm of the overfilled galleries, and the majority on the floor, even the Chancellor's reac-

tionary opposition being repeatedly swept off its feet into applauding sentiments. Some of the more important points made by Wirth in the course of his long argument were as follows:

The so-called tax compromise, consisting of fourteen new tax laws, which the Reichstag for the past week has been deliberating, form an integral part of our foreign policy whereby it was hoped to bring the existing difficulties in the relations between the German and foreign Governments gradually to a sensible compromise agreement.

The Government's foreign policy has been disturbed by the Reparation Commission's note of March 21 wherein we must view the actual and new worsening of our situation which rightly has caused the utmost excitement in all Germany. Obviously the Government's earnest endeavors have not been given credit by the Reparation Commission in any form. In particular there appears lacking an understanding of the significance of tax reform now in process.

The most painful surprise for us is caused by two points in the conditions, namely, that we immediately prepare a plan for increasing taxes by at least 60,000,000,000 paper marks for the current year and pass and enforce these new 60,000,000,000 taxes by May 31. After thorough deliberation, the Government has reached the conclusion that this is an utterly impossible and presumptuous condition.

There is probably nobody here who seriously believes it is possible to raise an additional sixty billion taxes. Our direct and indirect taxes have been increased to the limit, though we gladly are prepared to enter into a serious discussion regarding the German people's comparative tax burdens with other countries.

The Reparation Commission by granting a moratorium would have contributed to the stabilization of our currency and the creation of healthy basic conditions for our financial policy. The Reparation Commission's notes have actually achieved the diametrical opposite. The commission's note, by causing an increase in the gold mark's price, has caused our budget deficit to increase by 28,000,000,000, to 224,000,000,000—a striking proof that a policy of might cannot solve the reparation problem.

The parties representing an overwhelming majority of the German people have agreed on a tax program which reaches the limits of taxable power at the present moment. But even assuming that Germany's economic strength was sufficient to bear the additional 60,000,000,000 tax burden, I must still point out with all emphasis that these demands are utterly impossible if only from purely parliamentary, political and technical reasons. * * * The own self interest of our former enemies should induce them to desist.

The only comfort afforded the Reparation Commission by the Government's statement was conveyed in the promise that Germany would proceed to inaugurate the most stringent economy in all govern-

[German Cartoon]



—Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart

DR. WIRTH ON THE TIGHTROPE
He ventured and he won

mental departments. She would endeavor to extract the maximum revenue from the various tax sources to be opened through the laws about to be put into execution.

FOREIGN MINISTER'S VIEW

On March 29 Herr Rathenau, the Foreign Minister, followed up the Chancellor's attack. In the course of his speech he said:

I told the Reparation Commission in Cannes that Germany could make ten-day 31,000,000 gold mark payments only for a very short time without bringing about the danger of German exchange being shot to pieces. I won't take back what I told the Reparation Commission. This result has come about. The dollar has soared from 160 to more than 300 marks.

To understand the development, we must make clear to ourselves what important political world events are taking place. In France a statesman seized the reigns of government, one of great experience in international relations and of ruthless strength of will. Poincaré took up the fight against England, and Boulogne showed us that this fight has not been unsuccessful. Poincaré in the shortest time has made his policy effectively felt on all political theatres of war, not only against England, where Lloyd George's star has begun to set, but also in the Near East. The effects of Poincaré's policy have extended likewise to us, and have shown themselves unpleasantly in the hail of notes descending on us. In the last two months alone we have received more than a hundred notes, the answering of which has almost crippled our Foreign Department. The

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

Those Expressions of Pained Surprise!

Reparation Commission's decision of March 21 has disappointed us most grievously; the door to negotiations, however, must not be closed.

GERMAN TAX BILLS PASSED

Notwithstanding all the verbal flurry, the Reichstag on April 4 passed the new taxation measures, including a compulsory loan. The proposals comprised: (1) An increase of 200 per cent. in the property taxes; (2) a compulsory loan of 1,000,000,000 gold marks, which is to bear no interest for three years; (3) a turnover tax of 2 per cent.; (4) increase of the coal tax to 40 per cent. (the Socialists had previously demanded that it should not exceed 30 per cent.); (5) a tax of 50 per cent. per double zentner on sugar (the original proposal had been 100 per cent); (6) increased taxes on coffee, tea, cocoa and beer. The adoption automatically makes effective fourteen major tax laws.

Andreas Hermes, the Finance Minister, declared that the tax burden thus imposed on the people was without parallel in history, and would demonstrate to the world that the German people were prepared to assume the financial obligations growing out of the lost war.

The measure to free the Reichsbank from Government control was passed a few days later, with the backing of the Government.

The measure conforms with the provision of the allied note of March 21, which demanded full independence of the bank and its note printing press from the German Government. The bank law of 1875 gave to the Chancellor, as personifying the empire, supreme control of the bank and placed the directorate of the institution under his orders. The charter of the bank, which is renewable every decade, henceforth will eliminate the Chancellor, and all staff appointments previously made by the Chancellor will be chosen by the Directors of the bank independently of him.

COMMISSION'S DEMANDS REJECTED

The German Government on April 10 formally rejected the latest demand of the Reparation Commission. Regarding the demand for new taxes to the extent of 60,000,000,000 marks, and the measures of supervision proposed, the Berlin authorities replied that these measures were in contradiction to the unequivocal statements made by the Allies on June 16, 1919. The reply continued:

The German Government cannot consent to any form of supervision incompatible with Germany's financial independence. The German Government is prepared to furnish the Reparation Commission with any information it may require on the situation and on the financial operations carried on in Germany. No Government, however, could allow a foreign country to exercise any definite influence on the creation and application of legislative measures. * * * The new requirements, moreover, are physically impossible of execution. This is especially true with regard to the new taxes, exceeding the fiscal compromise by sixty billions.

The reasons given were that the taxation contemplated by the fiscal compromise was as heavy as it was possible to impose upon the German nation and economic system; that the fall of exchange necessitated the increase of the budgetary figures relating to the principal taxes, and that the forced loan would have the effect of a tax levied exclusively on wealth.

The Reparation Commission met twice on April 12 to consider this partial rejection of its terms, and finally decided to temporize by notifying the German Government that a definite decision would not be made until May 31. The desire to keep the subject of reparations out of the Genoa Conference was one cause of this non-committal action.

WHAT GERMANY HAS PAID

The following official statement was issued by the Reparation Commission, showing that up to Dec. 31, 1921, Germany had made reparation payments in cash, in cessions of State property, and in kind, amounting to 6,487,856,000 gold marks (about \$1,621,864,000), divided as follows:

Gold and foreign securities: (a) Direct payments, 1,041,419,000* (b) paid by Denmark on Germany's account for the cession of part of Schleswig-Holstein, 65,000,000; (c) sale of broken-up war material, 40,960,000; (d) sundry items, 657,000; (e) proceeds from the reparation recovery act, 36,136,000. Total, 184,172,000.

Deliveries in kind, in which the values in gold marks are estimated; (a) Supplies to the allied and associated powers, 2,760,250,000; (b) sales to Luxemburg, to the Textile Alliance, &c., 39,092,000. Total, 2,799,341,000, bringing the total of liquid receipts to 3,983,514,000 gold marks.

Estimated value of cessions of State properties in the territories ceded by Germany, 2,504,342,000; grand total, 6,487,856,000 gold marks.

The distribution of this sum among the Allies was made in the manner shown in the accompanying table. The figures are given in millions of gold marks:

*To this must be added 217,000,000 gold marks paid up to March 16, 1922.

I.—Total Payments and Deliveries by Germany

	Period to May 1, 1921.	May 1 to Nov. 30, 1921.	Total.
Cash	127	1,051	1,178*
Deliveries in kind and transfers of property, &c.	4,964	282	5,246
Total	5,091	1,333	6,424

*Add 217 to get the total of gold marks paid up to March 16, 1922.

II.—Distribution Between the Allies

(In respect of period to May 1, 1921)

	Cash.	Deliveries in Kind.	State Property, &c.	Total.
United States ..	..	58	..	58
Great Britain 127	303	1	431	
France	976	402	1,378	
Belgium	571	..	571	
Italy	86	..	86	
Japan	8	59	67	
Other Powers ..	29	..	29	
Undistribut'd ..	429	2,042	2,471	
Total	127	2,460	2,504	5,091

May 1 to Nov. 30, 1921

	Cash.	Deliveries in Kind.	Total.	Grand Total.
United States ..	..	..	..	58
Great Britain 29	10	39	470	
France	144	144	1,522	
Belgium	923	41	1,535	
Italy	46	46	132	
Japan .....	..	..	67	
Other Powers ..	35	35	64	
Undistributed 99	6	105	2,576	
Total	1,051	282	1,333	*6,424

NOTE.—Out of the 923 million gold marks paid in cash to Belgium, 430 million gold marks (equivalent to £29,500,000) have been paid over to Great Britain on account of the British claim for cost of occupation up to May 1, 1921.

*The grand total of 6,424 million gold marks, converted into American currency at the par value of 4 marks to the dollar, is equivalent to about \$1,606,000,000. Adding to the cash total the 217,000,000 gold marks paid up to March 16, 1922, brings the total cash to \$348,750,000.

THE SEVRES TREATY REVISED

Important session of the Allied Council of Ministers in Paris, which brought about an armistice between Greeks and Turks and modified the Turkish Peace Treaty to meet the altered situation

THE Council of Ministers met in Paris on March 22, 1922, for the discussion of the tangled situation in the Near East, especially in reference to the Greco-Turkish war in Anatolia and the demands of the Turkish Nationalists for revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. After five days' secret sessions, it reached results which have since been declared to transcend considerably in importance and statesmanship those supposed to have been attained by the Sèvres Treaty itself. The conference ended in complete harmony as to just what modifications should be made in that treaty, and new proposals were shaped and transmitted through the two Turkish delegations (that from Angora, headed by Yussuf Kemal Pasha, Mustapha Kemal's Foreign Minister, and that from Constantinople, representing the Sultan, and headed by Izzet Pasha, the Foreign Minister of the recognized Turkish Government) to Angora and Constantinople, respectively, as well as to the Greek Government at Athens. The Greek Government accepted the proposals soon after they were presented; the Sultan's

Government at the end of March; the Angora Government not until April 5. As a result, a temporary armistice was agreed upon between the embattled forces of Mustapha Kemal and King Constantine in Asia Minor, and arrangements began for the holding of joint councils for discussion of the final terms of settlement.

The Angora delegation left the Nationalist capital resolved to make the so-called "National Pact" the immutable basis of its peace terms. This National Pact, which

sets forth the basic principles of the insurgent government at Angora, refers to the solemn declaration issued by the Angora Assembly providing for the recognition of that Assembly as the sole legal and effective Turkish Government, for the restoration of Ionia and Thrace to Turkey (both given to the Greeks by the Sèvres Treaty), for the re-establishment of Turkish authority in all territory of the Asiatic provinces occupied by Turkey at the time of the armistice, for the cancellation of all clauses in the Sèvres Treaty conflicting in any way with the sovereignty of Turkey, and especially for the aboli-



(Photo International)

YUSSUF KEMAL BEY
Turkish Foreign Minister at Angora, and
head of the delegation that obtained
changes in the Sèvres Treaty

tion of the special alien rights and privileges secured by the so-called Capitularies. All these demands, as set forth in the pact, were reaffirmed by the Angora National Assembly on Feb. 5, and Yussuf Kemal Bey, the Nationalist "Vekil" or Commissary for Foreign Affairs, sailed from Constantinople on March 1 bearing instructions to bring back with him to Angora the allied powers' new proposals.

Though Yussuf Kemal had an interview with the Sultan before leaving, he did not receive any credentials from the Sublime Porte, and it was understood that his mission represented only Angora. The Sultan, however, made no concealment of his view that the Nationalist program received his full endorsement, and so instructed the Turkish representatives in Europe. Marshal Izzet Pasha, the Sultan's Foreign Minister, sailed shortly after Yussuf Kemal.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

The Paris Conference opened on schedule time on March 22. The proceedings were kept strictly secret, and the bulletins issued for the next five days were brief and noncommittal. Rapid progress was made in shaping the proposals for an armistice between the Turks and the Greeks, and after an all-day discussion, M. Poincaré, the French Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, and Signor Schanzer, the Italian Foreign Minister, united in sending three telegrams—to the Athens, Angora and Constantinople Governments, respectively—making specific proposals for an armistice. The conditions proposed, representing terms drawn up by Marshal Foch, were these:

(1) Hostilities would cease between the Greeks and the forces of Mustapha Kemal, on a date to be determined; (2) the troops on each side would retain their general lines, the advance elements being withdrawn so as to leave ten kilometers between the two fronts; (3) the duration of the armistice would be three months, and would be automatically renewable until the signing of a preliminary peace treaty; (4) each side to be privileged to abrogate the armistice by notification fifteen days in advance of its expiration; (5) allied military Commissioners to be attached to both parties to see that the conditions were faithfully observed; (6) steps to be taken for the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks.

After settling provisionally the question of the armistice, the allied Ministers turned their attention to other, and politically more weighty, matters. The first subject discussed at the session of March 23 was the question of the régime of Smyrna, now held by the Greeks. Involved in this was the problem of protecting the Greek minorities in Smyrna after the disputed district had been evacuated and restored to Turkish sovereignty—a course on which all the Ministers were now decided. Most of the day's session was devoted to this latter issue, broadened to include minority protection in Asia Minor, especially Armenia, and it was finally agreed that the League of Nations should be requested to collaborate in measures for the protection of these minorities. In this connection, the probability of Turkey's admission to the League following the conclusion of a peace treaty was discussed, and it was believed that this would open the way to co-operation between Turkey and the League in respect to minorities. The Ministers also agreed to accept the plan for the evacuation by the Allies of Asia Minor presented by the Interallied Military Commission at Constantinople.

Yussuf Kemal left Paris the following day (March 24), bearing the official terms of the armistice, and also a general outline of the peace terms which both

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

A CLOUD ON THE EASTERN HORIZON

Great Britain and France had agreed upon. These terms, as they had been outlined by Lord Curzon, were as follows:

That the Greeks withdraw from Anatolia.

That the Allies protect the Christian minorities in Ionia, since the Turks have proved incompetent administrators.

That the Thracian frontier be adjusted, starting at Midia; and that a special régime be created for Adrianople.

That the Turks accept unreservedly the British solution of the problem of the Dardanelles Strait.

That the British frontier in Mesopotamia include the town of Mosul, which has been disputed by the Turks.

[Austrian Cartoon]



—Die Muskete, Vienna

AT THE ENTENTE COUNCIL

"The comb of the French cock is remarkably swollen. It is high time that it got a little attention."

That a special Turco-British convention be completed to run twenty-five years.

That the Turks abandon anti-British propaganda in India, Persia and Afghanistan.

That Anatolia recognize the Porte as the legitimate Government in Turkey and the re-establishment of the Sultan's authority over Anatolia.

Meanwhile the allied Ministers continued their discussions, which now turned on the question of establishing an allied control of the Dardanelles and of Thrace, after the Greek evacuation of the parts to be decided on. Three solutions of the Dardanelles problem were considered: complete internationalization of the Straits, Turkish possession under allied control, and the retention of Scutari, on the Turkish side, by the Turks, with the Allies holding the Constantinople side. As

[American Cartoon]



—New York Times

TURKEY: "Oh, doctor, you've saved my life again."

for Thrace, the French advocated the return to the Turks of Adrianople and the larger part of Eastern Thrace, while the British advocated the closest possible adherence to the Enos-Midia line. Both of these questions were settled provisionally on March 25, and at the sessions of this day the Armenian problem again came up, and was finally disposed of along the lines already indicated.

THE FINAL AGREEMENT

The conference reached its end on March 26, when the allied Ministers, after holding repeated sessions, signed at 11:30 o'clock in the evening the provisional terms on which they had mutually agreed to revise the Sèvres Treaty. The salient features of the agreement, as summarized from the official text in Paris, were these:

The Allies in their statement definitely set forth as their intention the re-establishment of Turkish nationality and Turkish authority in such conditions as will enable the Turks to reassume their national independent existence with Constantinople as their capital. They also assure Mussulmans of their desire to maintain the secular and religious authority of the Sultan.

On the Greek side they promise compensation for the sacrifices which the Greeks made in the allied cause during the war, and in doing this they require that the Turks shall largely diminish their European territory while retaining all Asia Minor. Smyrna will be under a

special régime, but except for that provision the whole of Asia Minor from the frontiers of Persia to the Aegean Sea will be Turkish.

In Europe, Constantinople and a large part of Eastern Thrace will remain under the full sovereignty of the Sultan.

The territory immediately adjoining the Straits will be demilitarized and allied military inspectors will endeavor to insure the maintenance of this demilitarization.

The Greco-Turkish frontier will be traced in such a way as to leave the Greeks in possession of the Gallipoli Peninsula and of Adrianople, but just as a special régime may be made later for Smyrna, it may also be made for Adrianople.

Though the Armenians will profit from the strict protection of the minority clauses proposed in the new treaty, they will become the special charge of the Council of the League of Nations.

The financial independence of Turkey is to be respected and the administration of the Ottoman debt will be maintained and confirmed under reserve.

A time limit of three weeks is given for acceptance by both Greeks and Turks of these conditions as a basis for the negotiation of a peace treaty, which will be drafted in some place not yet decided, but probably Constantinople itself.

These new proposals marked a decided step toward a settlement of a question which has been at the root of much unrest in Europe and the Near East for the last two years. They opened the way for Great Britain to allay the Indian Mohammedan agitation against British rule, on the score of which Lord Reading had sent his sensational telegram early in March urgently requesting a revision of the Sèvres Treaty. They removed from France the dilemma of taking a hostile attitude toward the Nationalist Turks, with whom she had recently concluded a treaty, or of breaking with the Allies; further, it allayed the tense feeling which had arisen between France and England over the conclusion of the Angora Treaty without consultation of British desires.

According to the new plan, the line between the Greeks and Turks in Thrace will begin near the town of Ganos, on the Sea of Marmora, and run in a northeasterly direction to the Bulgarian frontier in the western part of the Istranja Mountains. It will give Baba-Eske and Kirk-Kilisseh to the Greeks, and the whole of Eastern Thrace and Gallipoli will be demilitarized on both the Turkish and the Greek sides. The Greek town of Rodosta is left in Turkish possession. "Thus the Greeks will not be able to threaten Constantinople, and the Turks will not be in a

position to attack the Greeks," say the council's proposals. The only military force in the whole district will be an inter-allied body to safeguard free entrance to the Straits. Navigation of the Straits will be under control of an international commission, directed by a Turkish President. One considerable concession to Turkish national feeling was the allowance of an army of 40,000 regular troops and 45,000 gendarmerie, a total of nearly twice that allowed under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres.

ARMISTICE TERMS ACCEPTED

All in all, the new treaty represented many concessions to the Turks, and though the Turkish, and especially the Anatolian, press at the end of March indulged in considerable boasting and defiance, implying that the Turks had won these concessions by their own dogged bravery, expressing distrust of the Allies and intimating that Mustapha Kemal would refuse the allied offers, preferring to sweep the Greeks and other Allies out of Turkey at the point of the bayonet, both the Constantinople and Angora Governments saw the matter in a more favorable light. The acceptance of the Sublime Porte was announced to the allied High Commissioners on March 30. Counter-proposals with regard to Thrace, however, were being formulated. The Angora Government's acceptance of the armistice proposals was announced on April 5, though also with reservations. The main points of the Angora reply were these:

Anatolia, including Smyrna, must be evacuated within four months.

The armistice may be renewed an additional three months if the peace negotiations have not terminated.

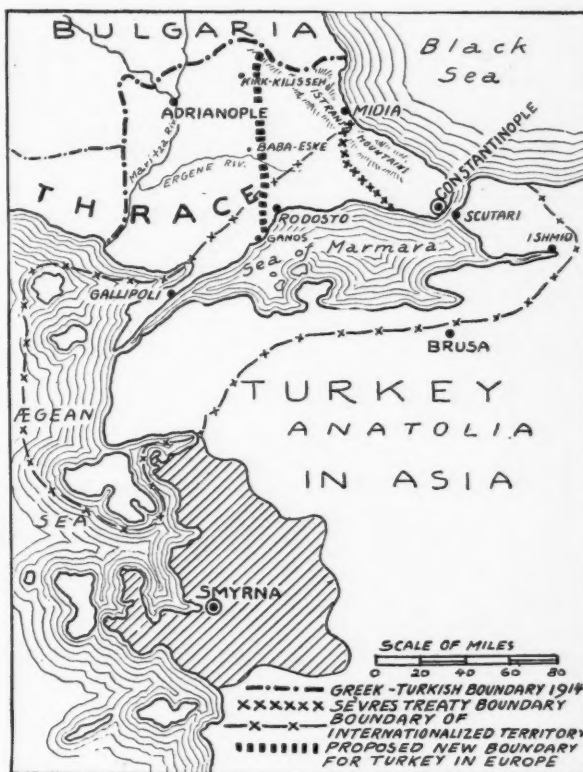
The Greeks to evacuate the Eski-Shehr-Afiun Karahissar-Kutaieh line within a fortnight, and the evacuation of the rest of Anatolia to proceed under the supervision of allied officers.

In the event the reply is accepted, the Kemalists delegates are ready to meet those of the Allies and Greece in three weeks to discuss peace.

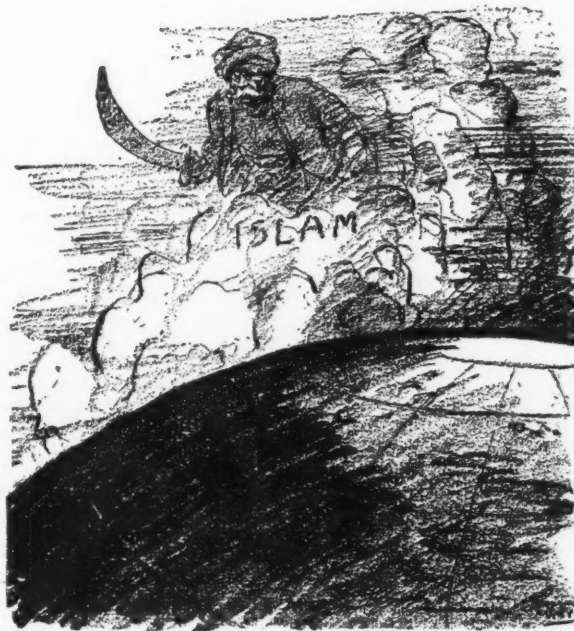
The Greek Army headquarters on April 11 categorically rejected the idea of evacuating the Eski-Shehr line, but in the main the tendency on both sides was to come to an agreement on the armistice proposals.

The Armenians alone were wholly dis-

satisfied with the decisions of the Paris conference. The Armenian delegation in Paris, headed by Dr. Alexander Khatisian, former Premier of the Armenian Republic, stated that his delegation would protest against the placing of the Armenians under the control of the League of Nations, and also against the plan suggested from London that the Armenians established a new national home in Cilicia, which is near the boundaries of French Syria. Dr. Khatissian declared that this decision took from the Armenians their hope of re-establishing their national home around Lake Van, and that as neither Armenia, Turkey nor Russia belonged to the League of Nations, he could not see how the League could accomplish anything for the Armenians. "The birthplace of our nation is around Lake Van," he said, "and there we wish to remain. All we want in Cilicia is protec-



[American Cartoon]



—New York World

STORM CLOUDS IN THE EAST

Heavy dotted line from Kirk Kilisseh to Ganos shows proposed division of Thrace between the Greeks and Turks. Transverse shading in Smyrna district indicates region to be taken from the Greeks and placed under international supervision.

tion for the Armenian minority there." He referred to ex-President Wilson's decision as arbitrator fixing the Armenian boundaries, and declared that the Armenians would be willing to sacrifice part of the territory included in that decision, which took in Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis, if they could have an outlet to the sea at Rize, leaving Trebizond and Erzerum to the Turks.

In a statement before the House of Lords on March 30, Lord Curzon said that the International Straits Commission would remain intact, and that all the great powers, including the United States, would be asked to appoint representatives.

PRESENT TURKISH RULE IN CILICIA

By CLAIR PRICE

An eyewitness account of what happened in Adana and other Cilician towns when the French troops left and the Turks came back—Flight of 65,000 Armenians—What is being done with the property left behind by the frightened refugees

I AM able to give herewith the first account of the French evacuation and the Turkish reoccupation of Cilicia, as effected under the treaty of last October between M. Franklin-Bouillon and Mustapha Kemal Pasha at Angora. I am the first American journalist to traverse Cilicia after the Turkish reoccupation. In a stay of some days at Adana I talked with all the Turkish leaders and with the members of the American colony, which is larger in Adana than in any other provincial capital in Asia Minor.

Cilicia is the rich, mountain-ringed plain at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, and, because it was the first area to be handed back to the Turk after the armistice of Oct. 30, 1918, its Turkish reoccupation assumes a high degree of significance. At the time this article is being written it seems not impossible that a solution of the Near East question may be reached which will restore Smyrna to the Turks, and the administration of Cilicia by the Nationalist Government at Angora is being looked upon as a test of the Nationalists' capacity for the peaceful handling of troubled areas. What has happened in Cilicia is being regarded as an indication of what may happen in Smyrna, should Smyrna finally be returned to the Nationalists.

During the three years which have ensued since the armistice was signed, in 1918, Cilicia has had quite as stormy a history as is imaginable. Originally under a threefold claim by Armenians, Turks and Arabs, it was taken over by the British High Command in Cairo on the conclusion of the armistice, with the French High

Command in Beirut occupying it simultaneously in a subordinate position. Normally it is one of the richest provinces in Asia Minor, its cotton being one of the finest qualities of fibre which the world produces; but the complex political situation which broke upon it in 1918 has laid waste its great natural resources and today its once prosperous villages afford a sorry sight.

When I visited it first, in the Summer of 1919, it was still quiet on the surface. The Turkish administration had fled to Bozanti, a mountain village across the great Taurus range, and the civil administration was in the hands of Turks, who were kept under the strictest surveillance by the Anglo-French military administration. The British military authorities were repatriating Armenians into Adana as rapidly as transport could be found for them, and the French authorities at Adana were forming them into a *Légion Arménienne* for military service under the French command. The presence of the British proved to be a stabilizing influence, however, and the Turco-Armenian feud for the time being smoldered beneath the surface.

In December, 1919, events took a sudden turn for the worse. The French Government demanded that the British High Command evacuate Cilicia and Syria in accordance with the terms of the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916. Accordingly, the British withdrew their forces down the coast to Palestine and the French were left to control alone the explosive movements which were taking form beneath the surface. There were then about 70,000 Armenians in Cilicia, rough-



ly, one-tenth of whom had been formed into the French *Légion Arménienne*. Cilicia was known to them as "Little Armenia," and the Boghos Nubar Pasha organization had reached strong proportions among them.

The Arab organization was already waning in strength, but the Turkish propaganda was still powerful and was being exercised from the security of Bozanti, high in the mountains just outside Cilicia itself. The Turks had given up the Arab country to the south, but because Cilicia had not been specifically mentioned in the armistice terms they still counted it Turkish territory.

When the British evacuated Cilicia, therefore, all the elements of a conflagration were in readiness and it remained to be seen whether the French could keep the flames under control.

The British had no sooner left than the Armenians began to assert themselves vigorously, and until February, 1921, when the first Near East conference was held in London, Cilicia was the scene of a reign

Characteristic group of Turkish officers and officials at Adana. In uniform, in the foreground, is General Muheddin Pasha, Military Governor of Cilicia. By his side is Halil Bey, the Chief of Police

of terror during which the Turco-Armenian feud broke completely from control. In Adana itself, the capital of Cilicia, an Armenian administration was set up which took over that part of the city west from the old

station to the clock tower. The Turkish civil administration was prevented—by the most rigorous French control—from taking action, and Turkish bands of irregulars began to roam the country. In the confused state of Turkish politics no control over these irregulars was possible, and in the warfare which ensued between them and the *Légion Arménienne* village after village was burned. The warfare spread along the north of the Arab country and towns as far away as Urfa were invested and fell. In Cilicia itself the French were pressed down closer and closer to the coast, the front leaving behind it as it moved steadily toward the sea a scorched and ruined country.

Then came the agreement of last October between M. Franklin-Bouillon and Mustapha Kemal, as a result of which the

French agreed to evacuate what remained to them of Cilicia. From this point I am able to give the first detailed narrative of the important events of the Turkish re-occupation.

EVACUATION OF CILICIA

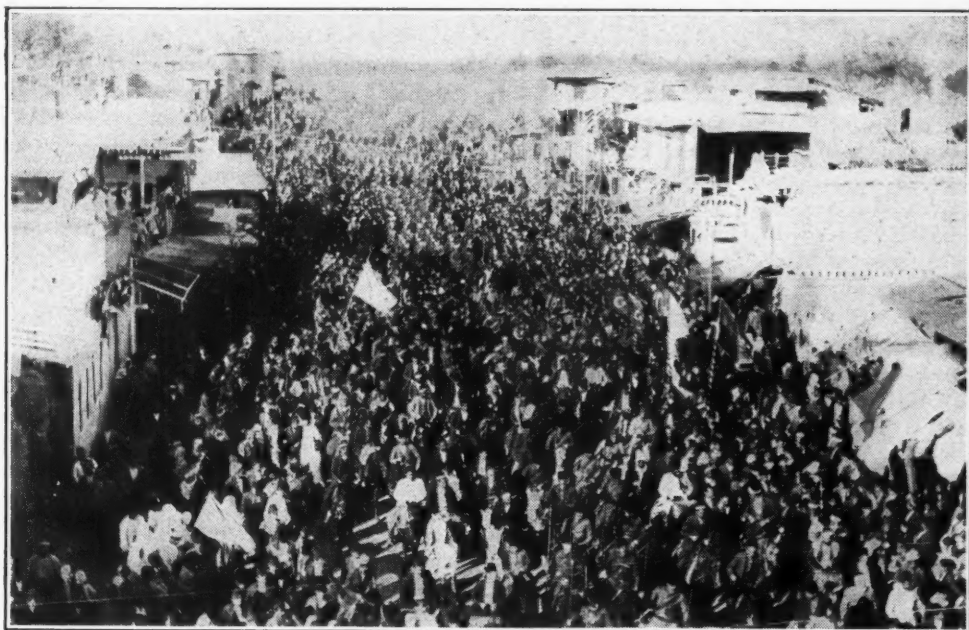
Immediately on the conclusion of the agreement, the Angora Government appointed Hamid Bey, an Under-Secretary in its Ministry of the Interior, as political officer to serve along the entire frontier, which the French were to evacuate from Cilicia to Upper Mesopotamia. At the same time General Muheddin Pasha was designated military commander over the same area and was given a crack regiment of regular troops for garrison duty. Two evacuations had to be arranged for, one military and the other civil. The Turkish civil administration was timed to take over from Dec. 1, 1921, throughout Cilicia, except in the Dortyol area, where the general Armenian exodus, which had followed announcement of the prospective French evacuation, had concentrated some 15,000 Armenians. In the Dortyol area the Turks waited for the French to evacuate these Armenians to Alexandretta, and the Turkish civil administration did not take over until Jan. 1, 1922. The Turkish military administration was timed to take over gradually, Turkish troops occupying each village about two hours after French troops evacuated it, in accordance with a schedule prepared in advance by the Franco-Turkish Evacuation Commission. The evacuation took place along two lines of march, one overland from Dortyol into French Syria, and one by sea from Mersina. The military evacuation began Dec. 4, reached Adana on Dec. 20, and was completed at Dortyol and Mersina simultaneously on Jan. 4. In accordance with Paragraph 10 of the Evacuation Protocol, the Turkish flag was raised on Dec. 1 over the Government buildings of Adana, Tarsus, Mersina, Djiken, Osmania, Dortyol, Ayas, Killis and Aintab, and on the residences of Hamid Bey and Muheddin Pasha in Adana; "the Order No. 270 of March 29, 1921, of General Dufieux, Commandant of the French High Commission for Cilicia, forbidding the display of flags from private houses, shall remain in force until Jan. 4, 1922."

Immediately upon the announcement that Cilicia was to be returned to the Turk, the Nationalist Government at Angora issued a general amnesty and an order for the exemption of the Christians in Cilicia from military service. It was already evident, however, that the terrific hatreds which had been generated in Cilicia were not to be put down by a simple amnesty proclamation, and already the 70,000 Armenians in Cilicia were streaming toward Dortyol and Mersina to leave with the French. A mass panic had seized them, and if the new Turkish administration was to keep them voluntarily in their homes, prompt and unmistakable action was imperative.

Hamid Bey had reached the Turco-Cilician boundary on Nov. 15 and made application at once to be permitted to proceed to Adana before the scheduled time, in order to get into touch with the fleeing Armenians. General Dufieux, French High Commissioner at Adana, refused him permission, however, on the ground that no advices authorizing his entrance had yet been received from M. Bouillon, who was still in Angora. The Turkish organization in Bozanti then prepared a mission to confer in Kalibek, the boundary town, with a mission from Adana, a conference which took place on Nov. 17, but which failed of result, owing to the fact that the Adana mission contained no elements which represented the French. Hamid then repeated his request for permission to proceed to Adana, and General Dufieux dispatched Colonel Sarrou to Kalibek, where the motives which were prompting the Armenian panic were stated to Hamid. These were the fear of Turkish revenge and the fear of being conscripted into the Turkish Nationalist armies. Hamid at once issued a proclamation designed to quiet the Armenians' fears on both these points, a proclamation which was published in the newspaper *Yeni Adana* on Nov. 20.

TRYING TO CHECK THE PANIC

Meanwhile, Colonel Sarrou had offered to put Hamid into touch with a number of Armenian notables at Yenidje, a railroad junction about twenty-five miles from Adana, on Nov. 22. Accordingly, at 11 A. M., Hamid met a group of notables who represented both Gregorian and Catholic



Armenians and the Orthodox community in an upper room of the Menidje Railway station and talked with them for an hour. He told them the Christians had been living in a friendly fashion with the Turks in all respects except politically, and that the Nationalist Government at Angora was even more anxious to avoid a renewal of their political differences than they themselves were. Shortly after he concluded his talk with them, M. Bouillon reached Yenidje from Angora, and, at a tea given by the French in his honor that afternoon, Bouillon repeated Hamid's assurances and backed them up with assurances on the subject of the Christians in Cilicia which Mustapha Kemal had given him in Angora. I have been told by the French that the Orthodox notables present were inclined to deprecate the panic, as were also in a lesser degree the Armenian Catholics present. The Armenian Gregorians, however, said nothing either at the morning session with Hamid or at the tea to Bouillon in the afternoon.

Bouillon then gave orders for Muheddin Pasha and Hamid to be permitted to proceed to Adana on Nov. 24, six days ahead of the scheduled date for the setting up of

View of a crowded street in Adana on Dec. 20, 1921, when Turkish troops entered the city after the withdrawal of the French. The return of the Turks caused 65,000 Armenians to flee from Cilicia.

the Nationalist administration. They motored quietly into Adana in the evening and went direct to the residence which had been prepared for them; and the next morning the final preparations for the evacuation were arranged in a conference at the French Headquarters. There were at that time about 40,000 fleeing Armenians crowded into Mersina, waiting for ships. About 15,000 had already left for Cyprus, Alexandretta, Smyrna and Constantinople, but the British, French and Greek authorities in these places, frightened at the prospect of a continued influx of Armenians, had forbidden further entries. French battleships were in the harbor and one American destroyer; some days later the strangely intricate politics of the Near East brought an Italian man-of-war into the port.

The finishing touches having been given to the program of evacuation, Muheddin and Hamid lost no time in hurrying to Mersina to get into touch with the Armenians there. Accompanied by M. Bouillon and a French officer, they motored down from Adana on the morning of Nov. 26, and the Armenians were ordered by the French authorities at Mersina to dispatch

a body of 100 notables to the Government building in Mersina. At 11:30 o'clock, Bouillon addressed these 100 Armenian notables, explaining to them that the evacuation of Cilicia was to be effected in accordance, not only with the Franco-Turkish agreement which he had signed at Angora, but with the Sèvres Treaty. Bouillon added that he reposed perfect confidence in Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Nationalist Government at Angora, and pleaded with the Armenians to respect the guarantees which that Government offered them. Muheddin Pasha and Hamid Bey followed him and repeated the guarantees which they had offered at Yenidje. Various Armenians then spoke, and the meeting became a sort of heart-to-heart talk, but it did not succeed in staying the Armenians. The French finally opened Alexandretta to the thousands who still thronged the streets of Mersina.

HAMID BEY'S STATEMENT

"There was only one way we could have kept the Armenians in Cilicia," Hamid Bey told me at Adana. "We could have forbidden their emigration, which we had an undoubted right to do, but which would have led to a great outcry throughout the West against us. We tried to persuade them to stay voluntarily, but they chose to go. Today they are crowded into barracks at Alexandretta and conditions are as bad among them as they always are where thousands of penniless refugees are herded together.

"Out of about 65,000 Armenians who fled from Cilicia, about fifty have come back. Meanwhile their homes are here waiting for them; we need thousands of workmen to rehabilitate Cilicia, and they are living in want and idleness a few miles away at Alexandretta. We did our best to keep them here, but rather than give them any ground for complaint against us, when they insisted on going, we let them go. I am convinced, after meeting their leaders at Yenidje and at Mersina, that nothing we could have said or done would have availed to keep them here. We were working against a definite order by the Armenian organization, ordering all of them out of the country as a protest against the French restoration of Cilicia to us.

"As to whether they could have been happy in Cilicia under our rule, I may remind you that the municipal doctor of Adana is an Armenian who has been with us in Cilicia for seventeen years and is still with us. As for the Orthodox and Syrian Christians who remain in Cilicia, you may see for yourself whether they are prospering under our rule. We are doing our best to persuade them to return, and I am convinced that as fast as they succeed in breaking away from the Armenian organization they will come back to their homes."

Hamid Bey took over the civil administration of Adana on Dec. 1, and by Dec. 29 the last of the Armenians had left Mersina, and Cilicia's population was almost exclusively Turkish. Although Hamid's position is that of political officer throughout the areas returned to the Turks by the French, his principal task has been that of Civil Governor of Cilicia. He was now confronted with the task of administering a ruined province, emptied of nearly half its population. His first task was to set up committees in charge of the property the Armenians had left behind them. These were established in every town and important village in Cilicia. In the three towns of Cilicia—Adana, Tarsus and Mersina—these committees are formed of two Armenians, two members of the Orthodox community, the local Turkish police mudir and a bookkeeper, the entire membership meeting under the presidency of the Turkish Mayor and the honorary presidency of M. La Porte, French delegate at Adana. These committees are charged with listing the properties left behind by the Armenians and with appraising their rental values. These properties are then rented to any one who applies, and the rental moneys paid for them are deposited in the Ottoman Bank at Adana to the credit of the missing owners. Vineyards thus rented are charged for at the rate of £2 Turkish per dunam per season of eight months, and houses and shops are charged for as appraised. In Adana alone over 200 houses and shops have thus been rented, with the proviso that, in case of the owner's return, they are to be vacated on a month's notice. This arrangement holds good for one year, after which further arrangements will have to be made.

WHAT THE TURKS THINK OF THE GREEKS

By MEHMED SHEFIK ZIA

To the Editor of Current History:

In your March issue you published an article entitled "What Greece has won from the Turk," written by the present Prime Minister of Greece, D. P. Gounaris. Mr. Gounaris states that "for a century there have been tens of thousands of people in America who have longed very ardently to see the Greeks throughout the Near East liberated from the yoke of the Turk." To a certain extent this may be true, but I wonder how many Americans would feel this longing if they were properly informed about the existing conditions in that part of the world. As a Turk I can state without reservation that until the Balkan war came, the Greeks of Turkey enjoyed the greatest religious and political rights that any Government can give to its people.

While our Turkish youth were called to arms to settle the revolutions in different parts of the empire, engineered in half a dozen so-called civilized Western Capitals, the Greeks of Turkey were exempted from the army, stayed at home and reaped a rich harvest, including the share of the Turk. These Greeks, whom we loved and respected as our brothers, did not, however, hesitate to stab us in the back when we were engaged in repulsing the Balkan Crusade directed against us by Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, and backed practically by the whole of Christian Europe in 1912. Thousands of Mohammedan men, women and children were massacred in the Balkans by Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians and Montenegrins, and the truth about these events was not permitted to circulate in the United States.

Then came the great war and the decision of the Treaty of Sèvres awarding Smyrna and Thrace to Greece. It is worthy of note that the majority of this population in these two Turkish provinces is pure Turkish. The whole world knows that the Greek population of Smyrna Provinces is only 20 per cent. of the whole. Thus the Greeks were sent to Asia Minor and Thrace

by the English and French Governments, and were permitted by them to commit unspeakable atrocities in these two provinces. These atrocities started with the massacre by Greek troops in the city of Smyrna during the first two days of occupation in May, 1919, in the course of which attacks were made on young Turkish girls and women, children were tortured, and homes, bridges and railways destroyed. This is a sufficient proof that Greece is incapable of providing good government, even one as good as Turkey has provided. The few men at the head of the Greek Government may have the ambition to make themselves personalities in Greek history, but the men who are doing the actual administrative work have shown themselves to be barbarians.

In addition to the atrocities of the regular Greek troops there have been systematic atrocities carried out by Greek bands imported from Crete and Macedonia and supplied by the Greek Army with arms and munitions. When the allied commission of inquiry visited Smyrna it caught the Greek Government and the Greek bandits in the act of co-operating. Full information in details was published in the *Revue Internationale de la Croix Rouge* No. 31, July 15, 1921. The American public was never given the slightest information on this subject.

It seems that Mr. Gounaris lacks vision. If he had it, he would recognize the Government of Mustapha Kemal Pasha—the only Government that every Turk obeys and respects, the only Government that represents Turkey, the power that will make the Treaty of Sèvres—the death-warrant of Turkey—a scrap of paper, even if it takes the last drop of Turkish blood flowing in the veins of the last living Turk to accomplish it.

We Turks feel confident that if the American public were correctly informed as to the true conditions of the Near East, if it knew that the Greeks are merely pawns in the hands of England and are

being played by her against the Turks for her own selfish commercial and imperialistic ambition, that the Treaty of Sèvres divides the whole of Turkey into spheres of influence and delivers it bound hand and foot to European capitalists and mainly to England, there would be no question that the 100,000,000 liberty-loving Americans would repudiate such shameful aims and withdraw support from Greece—England's present tool.

It is easy for the international mischief-makers and propagandists to condemn and insult Turkey in every possible way, as

Mr. Gounaris and dozens of others do, but it would be better for Mr. Gounaris to realize that so long as the blood of Moslem men, women and children of Crete, Epyris, Saloniki, Adrianople and Smyrna, is still fresh upon his hands, he has no right to speak in condemnation of the Turks. One thing is certain—we will keep up our struggle for the freedom of our land until every foot of the territory of Anatolia is cleared of the Greeks, and every Turkish woman and child is safe from the Greek dagger.

301 Meyran Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., April, 1922.

STEFANSSON'S CLAIM TO WRANGELL ISLAND

A PARTY sent out by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the Arctic explorer, landed at Wrangell Island, lying about 100 miles off the coast of North Siberia, on Sept. 21, 1921, raised the British flag and issued a proclamation formally taking possession of the island in the name of King George and the British Empire. When news of this fact reached London six months later it came as a complete surprise to the British Government as well as to the United States Government, which believed that it had established a prior claim.

The ownership of the island has been in dispute for a considerable period. The island was first discovered in 1849 by a British naval expedition under Captain Kellet, and for a long time subsequently it figured on the map as Kellet's Island. In 1869 an American whaling captain, Long, of New Bedford sighted Kellet's Island, which was not shown in his maps. It was Captain Long who gave the island its present name of Wrangell Island—or Wrangell Land. Long had heard of a series of explorations undertaken by Baron Ferdinand Wrangell, the Russian scientist, in 1825. In that year Wrangell had come down the Kolyma River, which had its mouth on the north coast of Siberia, and had heard from the natives that a great land lay to the north of Siberia. To discover this land, believed by him to be a continent, he made seven sled journeys, but failed to find the object of his search. Captain Long connected this search with the island which he had come upon and

named it, consequently, "Wrangell Island."

The next "discovery" occurred in 1881, while several American naval ships were searching for the lost expedition of Captain de Long sent out by The New York Herald. One of these ships, the Corwin, anchored, and the party, including John Muir, an American scientist, went ashore for a few hours. A second ship, the Rogers, landed a party which remained for three weeks. The United States did not follow up this undoubted claim, which Stefansson declares lapsed in 1886. From that time on both the British and American claims were shadowy, and no one landed on the island.

The new British claim thus established lapsed in 1919. Stefansson then determined to organize a special expedition to take possession of the island in the name of the British Government. Taking but few into his confidence, he raised and equipped, partly from his own funds and partly from private subscription, a party made up of four white men and as many Eskimos. Three of the white men were Americans who had been previously associated with the explorer. The commander of the expedition was Allan Crawford, son of a Professor in the University of Toronto. The expedition was hurried, owing to reports of the steady trek of the Japanese into North Siberia. What action, if any, will be taken by the American Government to contest the new claim, or what future claim may be set up by Russia, remains a matter of conjecture.

STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

By ROBERT R. MOTON

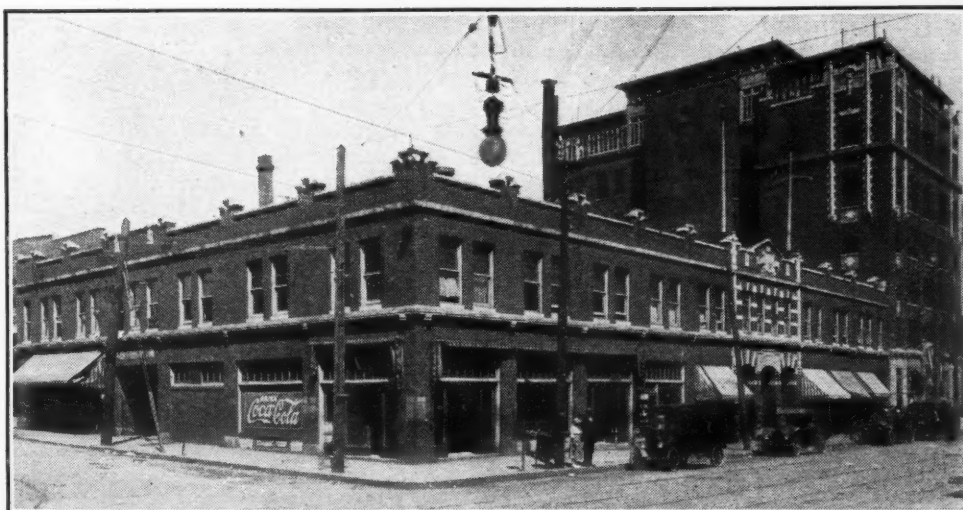
Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington for the training of colored young men and women

An authoritative survey of the progress of the negro in this country, and of the various organizations through which he is working out his own salvation—Recent achievements

THIS country, both North and South, is ready and willing, as never before, to get more definite information regarding the negro problem and to know something of the negro's own thoughts regarding this problem. Requests for literature on the subject come to us daily from all sections of the civilized world. The reason for this

Home of the Negro Odd Fellows of Georgia, occupying a prominent corner in Atlanta. This building was erected at a cost of half a million dollars

Business block in Atlanta, one of many substantial buildings owned by negroes in that and other leading Southern cities



unusual eagerness for facts is obvious. America, and in fact the whole civilized world, is thinking today, more than ever, in terms of justice and human understanding—this in spite of riots, mob outbreaks, labor unrest and other disturbing and sometimes discouraging conditions.

It is fitting that any picture of present-day negro progress should be exhibited with a historic background in order that the student or casual reader may better understand something of the difficulties through which the negro has passed in reaching his present rather remarkable status. It has been frequently said that the interests of the negro and white races in America are so inter-related that what helps the one helps the other and, conversely, what hinders one hinders the other. This is particularly true of the South, where the majority of the negroes live and where the race has made the most noticeable advancement, especially along economic lines.

Much of the present-day misunderstanding on the negro question is due to the fact that America is still adjusting itself to the emancipation of the slaves. It is no easy step from a master-and-slave attitude to that of "my fellow-citizens," especially when we take into account the differences in the races, which, while perhaps superficial, have in the past added, and still no doubt add, to the difficulties of adjustment. In spite of many difficulties, however, the negro has contributed much to his own progress, in practically all of which he has had the generous support of white people of the North as well as the sympathy and aid of many white people of the South. A review of this progress must, naturally, be devoted to those institutions which have contributed most to the development of the race. Within the race itself those of primary importance are the church, the school, the press, the business league and various other forces for economic and social betterment. Outside the race, in addition to the post-Civil War amendments to the Constitution, among the forces which have aided and encouraged the negro in his efforts for advancement may be mentioned the Freedmen's Aid Society, the American Missionary Association, Southern educational movements and the Inter-Racial Commission.

THE NEGRO CHURCH

In no field, perhaps, has the negro found a better opportunity to prove his ability to organize and to advance under his own leadership than through his churches. The first negro church to be organized in America was the Harrison Baptist Church at Petersburg, Va., in 1776. From that date to 1866, 700 churches were organized by the negro. During this period the management of the churches of the race, even in the free States of the North, was, in many instances, under the leadership of white ministers. In the South negro ministers could not be ordained, so, up to 1866, the negro was more or less restricted in the opportunity to test his capacity for church leadership.

With the abolition of slavery, new life was infused into the churches, and in 1920 there were more than 50,000 negro churches, owning property valued at more than \$88,000,000, with 5,000,000 communicants, against 700 churches, with property valued at \$1,500,000 and with 600,000 communicants in 1866. Among the church buildings are many representing the most beautiful types of architecture. Such buildings, some of which cost more than \$150,000, are found in practically every part of the country.

The negro churches, moreover, have gone out into foreign fields in the effort to promote Christianity by rendering service to their more distant brethren. While negro denominations contribute more than \$100,000 for home missions each year, supporting over 200 home missionaries and giving to some five hundred needy churches, they are also contributing over \$100,000 annually to foreign missions. The negro Baptists are carrying on missionary work in five foreign countries, conducting 150 stations and supporting more than 100 missionaries. The African Methodist Episcopal Church carries on missionary work in eight foreign countries, with two Bishops stationed in Africa, while the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is conducting missionary work in Africa and the West Indies.

Other indications of the progress and influence exerted by the negro churches are found in the publishing houses which they have established. Among these are the Colored Methodist Episcopal Publishing

House of Jackson, Tenn., the African Methodist Episcopal Publishing House of Philadelphia, Pa.; the African Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union Publishing House of Nashville, Tenn.; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Publishing House of Charlotte, N. C., and the National Baptist Publishing House of Nashville, Tenn. These houses are supplying Sunday school quarterlies, hymn books and other literature to the 46,000 Sunday schools, with their 2,000,000 pupils, and to the foreign mission fields. Such indications of progress have done much to change the attitude of the country on the subject of negro leadership.

THE NEGRO SCHOOL

Prior to the Civil War there were a very few schools or colleges in the free States in which a negro could matriculate, and in the slave States it was a crime to teach a negro to read and write, although a few slaves here and there, under great difficulties and with the aid of some white friends, obtained the rudiments of education. In 1866 at least 90 per cent. of the negroes in the United States were illiterate. The establishment of schools and colleges for negroes caused a rapid decline in the percentage of illiteracy in the race, until today, according to the 1920 census, only 22 per cent. of the negroes are illiterate.

In 1866 there were only fifteen schools for normal and college education, operated primarily for negroes. This number has, in the course of fifty-five years, increased to more than 500. Fifty-five years ago

the aggregate enrolment of negro children in the public schools was 100,000; this number has steadily increased, until in 1920 there were more than 2,000,000.

The result of the work of the schools is shown to advantage by the large number of professional men, skilled workmen and business men and women of the race, many of whom received at least a portion of their training in negro schools. In the early days of freedom there were only 600 negro teachers, but now there are more than 40,000. The spirit of these devoted men and women is sufficiently indicated by the fact that many of them have sacrificed opportunities to attain wealth and the luxuries of life in order to serve their fellowmen. Their work has raised the standard of living and produced better citizens.

Negro religious organizations, in addition to their regular work, have also made large contributions to negro educational development. They have established and are today largely sup-

porting more than 150 institutions—many of them ranking among our best—where the youth of the race is given an opportunity for training. The devotion of the negro to the education of his race is nowhere more eloquently and pathetically illustrated than in the fact that out of his comparative poverty he contributed in 1920—aside from regular school taxes—more than \$2,000,000 for the erection and maintenance of schools for his children.

Very few people, I dare say, have thought seriously about the influence that negro newspapers have had on the develop-



(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

MAJOR ROBERT R. MOTON

Principal of the Tuskegee Institute, where he succeeded Booker T. Washington. Major Moton is a graduate of Armstrong Institute, and was connected with that famous negro school for twenty-five years

ment of the race. As a matter of fact, as early as 1827 the negro press began to make sentiment in favor of emancipation. George Henry Payne, Professor of Journalism in the University of Missouri, in his "History of Journalism," says:

While it is not in the province of such a study as this to go into special developments of journalism, it is worth pointing out that it was not the white man alone who was developing a newspaper war against slavery. The negro began as early as 1827 to print his own paper, and from 1827 to 1837 were printed in New York City, *The Freedmen's Journal*, *The Rights of All*, *The Colored American*, *The Elevator* and *The Ram's Horn*, as well as *The National Watchman* at Troy, New York; the *Weekly Advocate* at Toronto, Can., and *The North Star*, published by Frederick Douglass.

These publications were edited by freedmen who had been afforded the opportunity of securing an education, a few of whom were graduates of the leading universities of America and Europe. In spite of the heat and bitterness of that period, these publications were characterized by calmness, reasonableness and sound logic. The following extract from an editorial which appeared in *The Colored American* about 1835 illustrates the point:

It appears to us most conclusive that our destinies in this country are for the better, not for the worse, in view of the many schemes introduced to our notice for emigrating to other countries having failed; thus teaching us that our rights, hopes and prospects are in this country; and it is a waste of time and of power to look for them under another Government, and also that God in His province is instructing us to remain at home, where are all our interests and claims, and to adopt proper measures and pursue them, and we yet shall participate in all the immunities and privileges the American Nation holds out to her citizens and be happy. We are also strongly American in our character and disposition.

During the Civil War *The Colored Citizen of Cincinnati*, Ohio, edited by John P. Sampson, served a wonderful purpose in the maintenance of the morale of the negro soldiers by encouraging them with reference to the nobility of the cause for which they were fighting. After the question of emancipation had been settled, papers of this kind wisely set themselves to the task of fitting the newly freed negroes for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. They universally stood by the school and the church of their people.

Each year has seen gradual but substan-

tial growth in the number of newspapers and magazines published by the negro. In 1920 there were 489 such publications, with more than 3,000,000 subscribers, some running as high as 300,000 copies of each issue. To supply these papers with authentic news, there have been established several news bureaus, among which are the Associated Negro Press and the Reciprocal News Service of the National Negro Press Association. There are also a number of negro news correspondents, many of whom regularly serve certain metropolitan dailies as well.

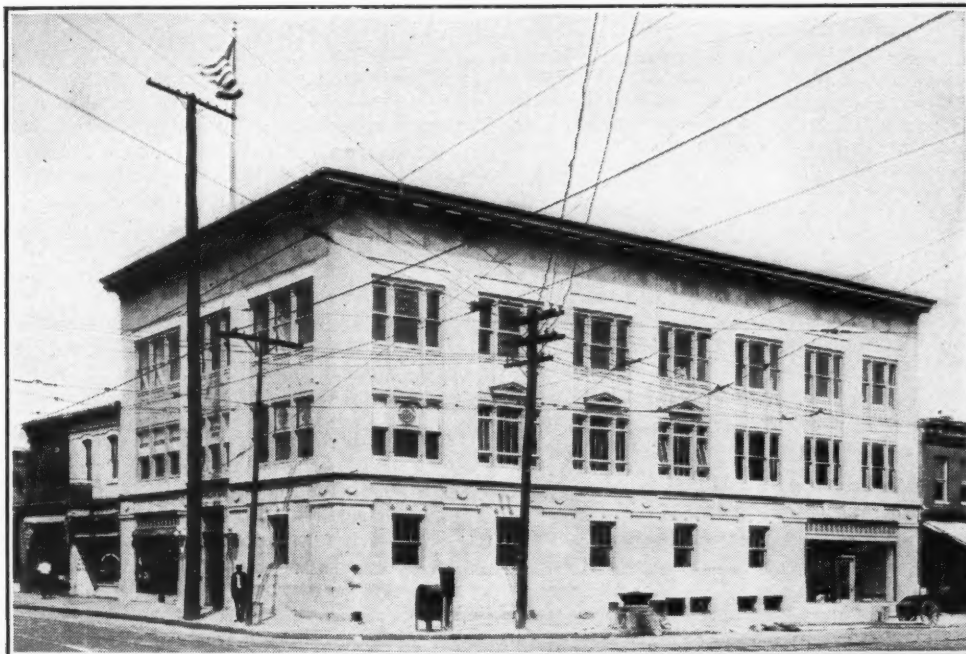
A splendid epitome of the attitude of the negro press during the recent war is shown in an article, "The Negro Fourth Estate," which appeared some time ago in *Reedy's Mirror*, published in St. Louis. The writer, Dr. Robert T. Kerlin of Virginia, a discriminating student of contemporary literature, said:

The colored press claims—and rightly—great credit for itself in pushing the various war measures and promoting drives. Papers of every kind, denominational, fraternal, secular, gave their columns freely to the stimulation of patriotism, appeals to race pride, exhortations to "go over the top" and instruction regarding the various requirements of the Government. With all this went a strong championing of our humanitarian purposes in the war—the liberation of subject minority races, the righting of old wrongs, the making of democracy prevail.

THE NEGRO CONFERENCE

"There is nothing more important for the negro just now than the securing of a home and becoming a taxpayer." Booker T. Washington made this statement twenty years ago in his address before the eleventh annual Tuskegee Negro Conference, and that was the dominant thought emphasized in that early gathering of hundreds of farmers, educators, ministers and leaders in various phases of social work, which came to Tuskegee Institute. It is impossible to estimate the value of this single influence in laying the foundation of the negro's present economic situation.

The first of the Tuskegee conferences was called in 1891, at which time the parents of the students from near-by rural communities were invited to come and talk over matters of community betterment, it being Mr. Washington's hope that Tuskegee Institute might thus find a more enlightened way in which to improve the



Above.—Metropolitan Bank Building, the home of one of the oldest and most successful negro banks in Norfolk, Va.

At right.—Interior of one of the fifteen Citizens' Co-operative Stores, operated by R. M. Roddy, a negro, of Memphis, Tenn.



conditions "back home," the net result being an improved home life and a better equipped student body. Another value was to be found in the fact that these conferences would point the way to the "heart" of the problems affecting the colored people and thus enable Tuskegee graduates to be so trained that they might go directly to their tasks with determination and with a definite program.

It was early discovered that the "experience meeting" style of program encouraged the simple, unlettered folk to talk out frankly and earnestly, and as the "experiences" were related there were unfolded some of the causes of the backwardness of the race, especially in the rural sections. Francis E. Leupp, a staff writer of *The New York Evening Post*, at-

tended the conference of 1902, and he reports some of the quaint sayings and homely philosophy as follows:

"I bought a piece of land and gave a mortgage on it; we had two or three bad crop years, and I had to let it go."

"I bought a farm without looking ahead; it had a bad title, and I lost it."

"When I was young I was foolish; all I wanted was a wife, and a dog, and a shotgun; it took me some time to find out how little I knew."

These were some of the admissions made in a variety of dialects, ranging from Georgia to Texas. The awakening from the fool's paradise was often picturesquely described, and the hard, toilsome, sordid struggle with poverty, the years

of relentless self-denial, leading up to the happy conclusion of so many acres owned outright, without a dollar of debt to disturb the owner's dreams.

A white gathering, if it had not been too shamefaced to expose such experiences of suffering to the world, would at least have shown some trace of bitterness in the recital. Not so the negroes. Cheerfulness, even jollity, was the keynote of their conference; and, with Booker T. Washington on the platform, tactfully drawing out the best that each man had to say, and slipping a word of encouragement here and a half-playful admonition there, it could hardly have been otherwise. The homely illustrations with which they reinforced their points were characteristic.

Mr. Washington reasoned logically when he undertook to measure the progress of his people by the condition of the race in the rural districts of the South, which constituted and still constitute fully 80 per cent. of the colored population. Accordingly, in these conferences he began preaching to his own people the doctrine of the dignity and importance of labor with the hands, of intelligent farming, ownership of homes, clean living, respect for family ties and the securing of such an education for their children as would enable the latter to be of the largest service in the communities to which they should go.

To the white people he said continually: "Since the two races are to reside in the South, we urge that everything be done on both sides to promote harmony and mutual confidence; and we urge our white fellow-citizens to do everything in their power to place a premium upon right conduct and high character among our people, and in order that peace and prosperity may abide we urge that our people be careful to refrain from the committing of crime; and, further, that when crime is committed or charged, every individual shall be given a legal trial to the end that the curse of lynch law, which lowers and blunts the moral sense, disturbing the material prosperity of both races, may forever cease to be practiced anywhere in the land."

After the conferences had been going ten years it was estimated that there had been an *increase of 28 per cent. in home owning among the farmers who had been attending the conferences.* No influence of such power could go very far without encouraging others to inaugurate similar

movements. There are very few negro educational institutions in the country that have not held, or are not now holding, periodical conferences for the discussion of questions affecting the race; among those most active in that direction are Hampton Institute in Virginia, Atlanta University in Georgia, Utica Institute in Mississippi and a large number of other schools.

NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE

It had sometimes been to the advantage of slave owners to foster distrust and suspicion among slaves, and this lack of confidence in the business abilities of their own race persisted among the negroes after emancipation. This, in itself, may have been one reason why, until recent years, most of the negro's corporate and co-operative efforts in business have met with somewhat disastrous results. Lack of experience and lack of capital, as well as an abundance of competition, are other difficulties which the negro has had to overcome in making progress in business. Notwithstanding these difficulties, negroes, in 1899, had approximately \$9,000,000 in business, 75 per cent. of which was represented in individual investments of \$2,500 or less, in grocery stores, restaurants, catering establishments and other small proprietary business ventures.

Some negro leaders, along with Dr. Washington, had watched this development with interest and talked it over among themselves. They believed that strong business enterprises in the cities, working and developing with increased home and farm ownership, would establish a new point of contact between the races and enable the negro to take his place as a more effective factor in the economic life of our country. With this thought in mind, the negro business men and women of the country were called to Boston in 1900 to secure "information and inspiration from each other." A large group responded, and at the meeting there was organized the National Negro Business League. Harry J. Barrymore of The Boston Transcript said of the first meeting:

It pleased me to see how brave the negro could be, and how patient. I waited for outbreaks of protest against white oppression, and especially against recent white cruelty. I heard none. No one "cry-babied." The spirit of the whole occasion was distinctly hopeful. Regard-

ing material advancement as a basis of every other sort of progress, the convention listened eagerly to accounts of negroes, once poor, who had now built houses, bought land, opened places of independent business and established solid bank accounts. * * * Yet there was scarcely any tendency to indulge in racial self-laudation. In general, the convention deprecated any desire to flatter the negro. Far from that, they said, "Let us look the conditions honestly and courageously in the face. Let us say the things that will help our people, whether those things are pleasant or otherwise."

There is an increasing tendency to form new groups of organizations affiliated with the Negro Business League. The National Negro Bankers' Association was the first offspring of the league. It has been followed by the National Negro Press Association, the National Funeral Directors' Association, the National Negro Bar Association, the National Association of Negro Insurance Men, the National Retail Merchants' Association and the National Association of Real Estate Dealers. These branch organizations meet each year with the National League and, in addition to separate sessions dealing with the special interests of each group, they conduct highly interesting and instructive symposiums in the main convention of the league.

The decades since 1900 have witnessed a far more substantial business development than any equal period of time before that date, as the accompanying tables show.

In the ten years following the organization of the National Negro Business League the total farm property owned by negroes has also shown a remarkable increase.

The remarkable success of the Business League, aside from the palpable need for

some such organization, was due to the splendid co-operation always received from the fine type of men and women who were associated with Dr. Washington in this movement, as well as to his own wise, forceful, yet simple and convincing business philosophy. A typical bit of Dr. Washington's philosophy on the value of sound business principles is embodied in the following paragraph from the address delivered in Boston in 1915, at the last meeting of the league presided over by its founder, just a few months prior to his death:

And so, my friends, I hold that there is no hope for us as a race except we learn to apply our education in a practical manner to the resources of our country and to the common activities of the community in which we live. No mere education will help a race, except that education be applied to the natural resources and interchange of commodities as represented in such departments of life as farming and business. An ounce of application is worth a ton of abstraction.

The National Negro Business League carries on its work through State leagues and local leagues, of which there are about 600. In addition to the regular work of the league, the session of 1921 proposed the establishment of three bureaus to deal with (1) business promotion, (2) public education and co-operation, (3) health. A leading colored banker who is associated with work of the Business League told me some weeks ago that there were at least ten million inactive dollars, representing the savings of the colored people, not in

banks, which might be put into productive use. It will be one of the purposes of the Bureau on Business Promotion to help direct

PROGRESS IN FIFTEEN YEARS

	1900	1915
Negro business enterprises.....	20,000	50,000
Negro banks	2	72
Drug stores	250	695
Undertaking establishments	450	1,000
Wholesale dealers	149	240
Retail merchants	10,000	25,000

TEN YEARS' INCREASE IN FARM PROPERTY

Owned by negroes.	1900	1910	Per cent. of increase.
Domestic animals	\$ 85,216,337	\$177,273,785	107
Poultry	3,788,792	5,113,756	36
Implements and machinery.....	18,586,225	36,861,418	98
Land and buildings.....	69,636,420	273,501,665	293
Total value of farm property.....	177,404,688	492,892,218	177

such available funds into safe investment channels. The Bureau on Education and Co-operation is designed to acquaint the colored people with business opportunities already existing, and to promote co-operation with other national organizations. The Bureau on Health will co-operate with existing health agencies in reducing the mortality among negroes and in strengthening the vitality of the race by securing closer attention to sanitary measures.

AGENCIES FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT

In proportion as the negro has made advances in education there has been developing, in that same proportion, race consciousness and race pride. The desire on the part of the race to give expression to its higher social and civic impulses, discouraged in some measure by the drawing of sharp lines between the races, in many matters of civic concern has created a number of organizations among the colored people, some of which parallel those of the white race. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows, for instance, has its parallel among the colored people in the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, which has a membership of more than half a million. The same is true in the case of the Elks: among the whites the title is Benevolent Protective Order of Elks; among the colored people it is the Independent Benevolent Order of Elks. There are more than sixty fraternal organizations which have for their purpose the uplifting of the colored people. These sixty organizations own more than \$20,000,000 worth of property. A strong insurance feature, which constitutes their main appeal, enables them to render a distinct and valuable service to the race.

There are other organizations formed for the sole purpose of promoting some distinct phase of negro advancement. Perhaps the most prominent of these is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was organized in 1909 for the purpose of combating the various segregation laws and for securing by legislation all the rights and privileges to which the negro, like other citizens, is entitled under the Constitution. The National Association has among its officers and members both white and colored

people, with Moorfield Storey of Boston, former President of the American Bar Association, as President and James Weldon Johnson, who has attained distinction as a writer and former United States Consul in Nicaragua, as Secretary. The National Association has over 150 branches throughout the country, with a membership in 1921 of over 150,000. It publishes in New York City a monthly magazine called the *Crisis*, which is edited by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. The *Crisis* has a circulation of 100,000.

Dr. Joel E. Spingarn, Chairman of the Executive Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, offers a medal each year for the negro who makes the most notable contribution to negro progress. The Spingarn Medal has been awarded as follows:

1915—Ernest Everett Just, Professor and head of the Department of Physiology, Howard University Medical School, for excellence in research work in biology.

1916—Colonel Charles Young, United States Army, for organizing the Liberian constabulary and establishing order on the frontier of Liberia.

1917—Harry T. Burleigh, New York City, for distinguished work in musical composition.

1918—William Stanley Braithwait, Cambridge, Mass., for distinguished work as a poet and literary critic.

1919—Archibald H. Grimke, for distinguished service as United States Consul at Santo Domingo, as President of the Negro Academy, and as President of the Washington (D. C.) Branch of the N. A. A. C. P.

1920—W. E. B. Du Bois, New York City, for organizing the Pan-African Congress.

1921—Charles S. Gilpin, New York City, for distinguished achievement as an actor during the year 1921.

Another organization which has done much in bettering the condition of the negro is the National Urban League, of which L. Hollingsworth Wood, a prominent New York lawyer, is Chairman and Eugene Kinkle Jones is Executive Secretary. This organization functions mostly in the larger cities of the North and Middle West, though it is gradually extending its field to the South. It gives special attention to such problems as housing and employment. During the war this organization proved its benefit to the country in helping the thousands of negroes who migrated to the North to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and in helping to solve many of the labor problems in the larger industrial centres where

negro labor was being tried for the first time.

Brief reference may be made here to the National Organization Society of Virginia, which began its activities in 1913 as one of the extension efforts of the Hampton Institute. It started a movement which has since become of far-reaching influence. In its first year it inaugurated a "Clean-Up Campaign" throughout the State of Virginia, which was featured by the giving of prizes for the cleanest homes and premises. The campaign lasted one week, and when it was over it was said that Virginia was cleaner than it had ever been in all its history. The slogan of the Negro Organization Society is "Better Schools, Better Homes, Better Health, Better Farms," and it is still one of the most helpful and popular organizations in Virginia.

Booker T. Washington, who always attended the meetings of the Negro Organization Society, was impressed with the success of the clean-up campaign and at once proposed, with the consent and co-operation of the society, to nationalize the Clean-Up Campaign. Accordingly, in 1915 Dr. Washington inaugurated the National Negro Health Week, and the National Negro Business League was used as the medium for getting it before the public. Every year since then the National Negro Health Week has grown in importance; in 1921 this campaign had the support of all the State Boards of Health in the South. At least four Southern Governors issued proclamations, which were published broadcast in their States, calling upon the colored people to observe Health Week, and asking white people to assist in making the campaign a success.

The importance of Health Week is attested by the fact that the United States Public Health Service, under direction of the Surgeon General of the United States Army, has taken cognizance of it to the extent that there is printed and distributed at Government expenses a bulletin prepared at Tuskegee Institute for Health Week, covering all features of the movement.

Other organizations which are making notable contributions to negro progress are: The National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the National Medical Association, the National Association of

Teachers in Colored Schools, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, and other organizations both social and professional.

OTHER AGENCIES OF PROGRESS

Aside from these organizations, which represent in largest measure the efforts of the race to help itself, there are various movements that have their origins outside of the race, and that reflect the interest of the white race in America, both North and South, in promoting the welfare of their darker fellow-citizens.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution gave the negro his freedom; the Fourteenth declared him a citizen, and the Fifteenth gave him the right to suffrage; however ineffectually, in many aspects, the Fifteenth Amendment may have worked, it was necessary to protect the negro under the other two amendments. It becomes more and more apparent that these amendments were necessary to complete and make more effective the work of emancipation. The transfer of responsibility or ownership from the white master to himself, carrying with it the necessity of making his own living, brought to the negro the necessity of demonstrating his capacities for useful citizenship, as well as his own strength of character. The sudden change from slave to freedman was naturally fraught with difficulties, and these were enhanced by the unavoidable rupture of sympathy and understanding between former master and slave. And these difficulties were further aggravated by some white men—not all of them Northerners—who took advantage of the situation, especially on the political side. The reconstruction period is usually remembered for its unpleasant aspects, but, in spite of much that was unpleasant, there came out of it a great deal more of good than is generally credited to it; for example, public schools in the South for both white and negro children began during this period when "carpet-baggers" and negroes controlled the Legislatures of the South. It is furthermore true that the restoration of the South after the war was for more than twenty-five years carried on under the State Constitutions promulgated by reconstruction Legislatures.

THE FREEDMEN'S AID BUREAU

These legal amendments had established the civil status of the negro, after conferring upon him his physical freedom. Of equal importance was the effort to prepare the negro for citizenship, which the Congressional acts had conferred upon him. The immediate problem facing the nation was the fitting of these newly emancipated millions by education for self-support and self-direction. The Government, seeing the needs of the situation, in 1867 created by an act of Congress the Freedmen's Aid Bureau. This bureau was first organized to "distribute provisions, clothing and fuel to the freedmen," but its functions also included the assignment of abandoned or confiscated lands to the freedmen and refugees in forty-acre tracts at a 6 per cent. rental for three years, after which time the occupants might purchase it from the Government at its appraised value. General O. O. Howard, who had won distinction at Gettysburg, and who later had commanded a wing of General Sherman's army, was appointed Commissioner in charge of the bureau.

The Freedmen's Bureau continued in operation for five years, during which period it established 4,239 schools, employed 9,307 teachers, instructed 247,333 pupils and expended for education \$3,521,936.* Some of the schools then established, including Howard University at Washington, are today among the most important educational institutions for the negro. The bureau also paved the way for the larger movements in negro education, in which Northern missionaries, many of them "Yankee school-marms," took the initiative, but in which many Southerners, too, have heartily co-operated. Thus it was the Freedmen's Bureau that lighted the way for many kinds of beneficent work for the aid of the negro race.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

Closely associated with the Freedmen's Bureau, but entirely independent of the Government, was the American Missionary Association. This was established by the Congregational Church, largely for evangelical purposes, and first began to attract the attention of the public at the close of

the Civil War because of the splendid work it was doing to relieve the chaotic condition in which the South was left after the war. The negro people were going through a process of readjustment, and the whole situation called for the fullest measure of patience and wisdom on the part of all the nation. In helping to meet this situation, the association sent agents into every section of the South, and, as rapidly as possible, churches and schools were established.

At first the association acted in close co-operation with the Freedmen's Aid Bureau because both were approaching the same task with somewhat similar methods; and it was fortunate that this co-operation existed, for much of the work undertaken through the bureau was continued by the association after the bureau was abolished in 1872. A great many teachers from New England and other parts of the North came into the South at the call of the association, and many of the schools which had been established in the various States of the South have since developed into leading institutions for the secondary and collegiate training for negro youth; these include Fisk University, in Tennessee; Atlanta University, in Georgia; Talladega College, in Alabama; Straight University, in Louisiana, and many others.

It is interesting to note also that Hampton Institute had its beginning very largely through the confidence which the officers of the American Missionary Association had in General Samuel C. Armstrong, who, like General Howard, had served in the Union Army and commanded negro troops. It is a matter of record that the original purchase of the Wood Farm, which later became Hampton Institute, was made possible through the appropriation of \$2,000 from the Freedmen's Bureau and \$9,000 from the American Missionary Association. The American negro owes a debt to the American Missionary Association which it is difficult to estimate, and it is my opinion that if we should subtract from negro education and development the contribution which has been made by this organization the result would be most discouraging and pitiful to contemplate, whether in home or church life, in moral or religious development, or even in economic advancement.

The schools planted by the association

*Negro Year Book.

have sent out their graduates into every State and section, so that today I doubt very much if there is any school of consequence for negroes above the grammar grade that has not, at some time in its history, had on its Faculty one or more teachers trained, at least in part, in some one of the "A. M. A." schools.

PROGRESS IN SOUTHERN EDUCATION

In spite of the suspicion and distrust engendered by the war of emancipation, there were those of both races, North and South, with rare vision and foresight who planned certain movements—small, to be sure, in the beginning—which aimed to create such an atmosphere as would make possible a most satisfactory and helpful reconstruction. As men got further away from the war, and as passion subsided, leaders were able to discuss with greater soberness and to think of the problems of the South from a humanitarian and rational rather than a sectional or racial point of view. Little by little this sentiment grew, and finally it took shape in a Conference on Education in the South, which was attended by both Northern and Southern men. This conference, held in a little hotel in the mountains of West Virginia, was presided over by the Hon. William L. Wilson, at one time President of Washington and Lee University. The necessity of education for all children of the South, both white and colored, was emphasized at this conference, and one result was the forming of the General Education Board. At this time Dr. Booker T. Washington was interested in securing the active support of influential white people in negro education, believing that in that way Tuskegee Institute would be helped by a popular movement for improving the educational advantages of the negro.

Among those who took part in these early conferences, and who later became actively interested in the movement, were Robert C. Ogden, who was for many years a business associate of John Wanamaker and who became one of America's greatest leaders in education movements; William H. Baldwin Jr., who was President of the Southern Railroad and who became the first Chairman of the General Education Board; Edgar Gardner Murphy of Alabama, noted as an educator, publicist and

author; John D. Rockefeller Jr., who, with his father, has supported the General Education Board since its inception; George Foster Peabody, financier, of New York; Dr. Walter H. Page, late Ambassador of America to Great Britain; Dr. Wallace Butterick and many others.

Another movement whose beginning may be traced to that little conference in West Virginia is the Negro Rural School Fund of the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation. The late Miss Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia became interested in negro education through the support which she had been giving Hampton and Tuskegee Institute, and left \$1,000,000 in her will, the interest of which was to go toward bettering the educational facilities of negroes in the rural districts. The responsibility for organizing the board and administering this fund was left to Dr. H. B. Frissell, who was then Principal of Hampton Institute, and to Dr. Booker T. Washington; Dr. James H. Dillard, Dean of Tulane University, was elected President of the Jeanes Fund Board.

This was the first educational board to have a personnel of both white and colored men. The purpose of the fund is to provide workers among county schools, known as Jeanes Fund supervisors; to encourage longer school terms for negroes, and to co-operate with the educational authorities in Southern States in the establishment of county training schools. The work of these supervisors is the most important phase of the Jeanes Fund activities. The supervisors are women—there are few men—trained as teachers in manual training, domestic science, club work, &c. Each has a group of schools under her direction, which she visits regularly, giving instruction in industries. The success of these workers in enlisting the support and interest of county and State authorities may be evidenced in the following paragraph from a report of the Jeanes Fund operations in 1921:

The 272 supervising teachers, paid partly by the counties and partly through the Jeanes Fund, visited, regularly, in these counties 8,967 county schools, making in all 34,641 visits and raising for the purpose of school improvement \$394,737. The total amount of salary paid to the supervising teachers was \$214,033, of which the sum of \$119,746 was paid by the public school authorities and \$94,287 through the Jeanes Fund.

The general supervision of the Jeanes Fund work is carried on under the direction of two field agents, one white, B. C. Caldwell, with his headquarters at Natchitoches, La., and the other colored, W. T. B. Williams, with his headquarters at Tuskegee Institute. These field agents cover the entire South, helping, encouraging and inspiring the Jeanes Fund supervisors. Because of Dr. Dillard's splendid work in the direction of the Jeanes Fund work, he has also been made President of the Slater Fund, a similar benefaction provided in the will of the late John F. Slater for promotion of negro education. The two organizations have since been combined.

Another significant movement for the betterment of the rural life of colored people is carried on through the fund established by Julius Rosenwald, the Chicago philanthropist, a fund devoted to the erection of modern school buildings for negroes. This movement, too, was initiated as a result of an appeal made to Mr. Rosenwald by Dr. Washington. Dr. Washington believed that if a few hundred dollars from some outside source could be obtained, the colored people in the rural communities, the white residents and the State authorities would be encouraged to raise enough funds jointly to erect and equip modern schools for negroes in place of the dilapidated buildings then so common in the South. Mr. Rosenwald made a gift to try Dr. Washington's plan in six rural communities in Alabama, and the experiment was so pleasing that now he is giving something like half a million dollars annually for this purpose. In eight years after the establishment of the Rosenwald Fund 1,215 of these schools had been erected at a total cost of \$3,985,000, which represented \$1,829,000 of public appropriations, \$278,000 of private contributions from white people, \$1,129,000 contributed by colored people, and \$749,000 from Mr. Rosenwald. Thus it will be seen that Mr. Rosenwald's beneficence has encouraged these other three groups to contribute \$3,236,000 for negro education, the greater part of which probably would not have been contributed to this purpose had it not been for the Rosenwald offer. It is a splendid thing for these several communities to have improved schools, but the most important result is the bringing

together of white and colored people in the various local campaigns to raise money for better negro schools. These schools, from their very beginning, become centres of influence radiating goodwill between the races in the South.

For a number of years the Rosenwald Fund was administered through Tuskegee Institute, but about a year ago Mr. Rosenwald established a board of trustees to become responsible for all of his philanthropy. This board has taken over the direct supervision of the fund. However, one member of the Tuskegee Institute Faculty, Clinton J. Calloway, remains actively in the work and is associated with the General Field Agent of the Fund, S. L. Smith, a white Tennessean of strong sympathies and broad experience in negro education.

Still another movement which is having a far-reaching influence in bringing about a better understanding between the races is the establishment of fellowships in certain of the leading State universities of the South by the Phelps-Stokes Fund for young Southern white men who purpose to devote their lives to social work along inter-racial lines. The young men holding these fellowships are studying the race question in all its aspects, and the theses which these young men prepare are valuable contributions to current Southern literature on the race question. The same end is sought, too, by the University Race Commission, a body of professors, each representing one of the leading Southern universities, who have undertaken to conduct a serious study of actual conditions existing among negroes, with the idea of using the results in their classes in sociology. The high character of the men who compose the University Race Commission, and the publications which they issue from time to time, are doing much to shape public opinion in the South toward a more liberal attitude in matters affecting the colored people.

INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION

During the World War there developed through the various war activities a fine spirit of co-operation between the races. Southern people who had never before attended a meeting for negroes addressed negro audiences on the purpose of the war and met universally a ready and helpful

response. In all the local patriotic efforts the general committees affiliated with themselves an auxiliary group of representative colored people. This co-operation gave rise to a spirit of sympathy and understanding which considerably toned down the harshness previously existing between the races. After the armistice was signed some representative men and women of both races made up their minds that this new spirit should be kept alive, to be used in times of peace. After careful consideration, a meeting was called by John J. Eagan, President of the Bankers' and Manufacturers' Bank of Atlanta, Ga. He and Dr. James H. Dillard, President of the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, with Dr. M. Ashby Jones, W. Woods White and others, mostly Southerners, met in Atlanta early in 1918 to work out a program to which Southern white men would be willing to subscribe, looking toward securing for colored people of the South, as a matter of social justice, some of the things for which they have been striving. There they invited the co-operation of such Northerners as Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Executive Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Dr. Wallace Buttrick, President of the General Board of Education.

On the same day and at about the same hour a group of representative colored men were in a conference at Tuskegee Institute working out a program which was to be laid before the white group. Finally, the two programs were passed upon in a joint conference, and out of these conferences there was organized the Committee on Inter-Racial Co-operation, with John J. Eagan as Chairman.

The program which was finally adopted contained certain things which were uppermost in the negro's mind; it called for justice in the courts for negroes, condemned lynching under all circumstances, and advocated economic justice, adequate educational facilities, improved living and sanitary conditions, recreational advantages, and better traveling facilities. Dr. Edward Mims of Vanderbilt University, a member of the commission, in a pamphlet setting forth the purposes of the commission, says:

It was fully realized that while this program undoubtedly will be opposed by some Southerners, these leaders felt that they had back of them in their insistence on these fundamental demands

the spirit of the great Southerners of the past and present. While the program fell short of meeting all the ardent desires of the negro, it was felt, however, that much might be lost if too advanced a position were taken, and that even this limited program might be the working basis of all who are patiently working toward a gradual and substantial improvement in relationships between the races and in the consequent economic, social and moral condition of the negro.

The commission, from its central office in Atlanta, has organized and is now directing inter-racial committees in all the Southern States. In each locality there are organized a colored committee and a white committee, meeting separately as well as jointly from time to time to take up various matters affecting the interests of the two races. Up to this time more than 800 Southern counties have been organized with white and colored committees, and are actually undertaking to create a sentiment which will make possible the carrying out of the program.

The following quotations will give some idea of the work that is being accomplished:

I have discovered one very interesting thing especially, recently—a growing realization on the part of the leaders in the negro counties—that is, those counties where the colored population approximates or exceeds the white population—that the Christian attitude toward the negro is the only solution of the race problem. Hitherto the disposition of the majority of people in this black belt of the State has been to pursue a policy of terrorizing and brutality, trying to keep the negro cowed and in fear of the white men in the community. This attitude has its historical background in the incidents growing out of the reconstruction days, just after the Civil War. These counties have been slow to see that the best way to treat the negro is in fairness and justice, but more and more they are realizing that as a matter of business policy, to say nothing of Christian obligation, this attitude is the only proper way to handle the negro question. The work of our inter-racial program has contributed largely to changing this sentiment. * * *

At — I met the white members of the Inter-Racial Committee; learned that the week before there had been fifty negroes of good standing to leave for Detroit. This section of the black belt shows the absence of the negro from the farm; cabins are empty and many acres of the fair, fat soil are untouched by the plow. I tried to impress upon the leading men, discussing this matter, that no section of — was more needy in this crisis for want of the negro laborer than their own, and that no day ought to pass without seeing some definite movement made to further the program of the Inter-Racial Committee. * * *

I have two or three interesting incidents to

report. Recently at —, a policeman in citizen's clothes beat up, without any provocation, a respectable colored citizen of that town. The next day the colored man armed himself with a revolver, declaring his intention to kill the policeman on sight. Fortunately he did not know the man, and before he could learn his identity representatives of the Inter-Racial Committee took him in hand. They also lodged a complaint with the Mayor, and within twenty-four hours from the time the incident happened the officer was put off the police force. They are also trying another policeman who stood by and witnessed the beating of the colored man. * * *

At a conference recently held in — by the white and colored people, our Inter-Racial Committee being represented, united support of the white and colored people was secured for a bond issue of \$300,000 for school purposes; the white people definitely pledged that the first school to receive attention would be one of the colored schools. The bond issue was voted with practically no opposition.

Dr. W. W. Alexander, Executive Secretary of the commission, after referring to the veneration in which the anti-bellum negro was held, says:

The best white people in the South do not realize how completely the negro of other days has passed. They go on feeling and thinking of the present-day negro as they thought of the old order of negroes that are gone. We do not so much need more kindness toward negroes in general as we need a knowledge of the best negroes as they exist in the communities of the South today, and we need to direct the kindness that exists among the best whites toward these negroes. The Southern white man today needs to get acquainted with his negro neighbor, and when this happens the best of them will like one another. Negroes who have had educational advantages are respected by honest white men of culture, just as men of culture always respect one another.

Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky said:

No greater service could be rendered the people of Kentucky, white and black, than the cultivation of better inter-racial relations and the improvement of the colored people along the lines of recreation, good health, thrift, education, religious needs, &c. I stand for justice for all of the people and will lend the full weight of my influence to this movement.

There is probably no work in the South that is having a more beneficial effect than that of the Inter-Racial Commission, because it represents the efforts of Southern white people themselves in trying to bring about better relations between the races, based upon human brotherhood and sympathetic co-operation.

These and similar achievements on the part of the race are more and more coming

to be common knowledge among negroes, and there is today, as never before, the utmost eagerness among them to learn of the past or present achievements of individual members of the race. Practically every negro boy and girl who has studied American history honors Crispus Attucks, a negro, as the first American to shed his blood in the Revolutionary War; and Phyllis Wheatley, a slave girl, brought to Boston in 1776, as one of the first women in America to achieve literary distinction, her poems winning praise from George Washington. Similarly the race has great pride in Alexander Pushkin, the national poet of Russia, and Alexandre Dumas, the great French novelist, both of whom were of negro descent.

It is an unpleasant fact that American newspapers in the past have given great publicity to the doings of less worthy members of the race, while the more commendable achievements, the kind which would reflect credit upon any race, are known to a few people only. I refer to such facts as these:

William Stanley Braithwaite, poet and literary critic on the staff of *The Boston Transcript*, is a regular contributor to literary journals and publishes annually "The Anthology of Magazine Verse," which is an accepted authority in critical circles.

Edmonia Lewis and Meta Vaux Warrick are negro women who have achieved conspicuous success in sculpture.

L. A. Hayden of Charlotte, N. C., invented an airship stabilizer which was adopted by the British Government.

G. A. Morgan of Cleveland, Ohio, invented a smoke helmet for fire-fighters, in recognition of which the International Fire Chiefs' Association recently presented him with a gold honorary membership badge.

Charles Knight, a colored man, drove 4,875 rivets in one day in 1918 at the Bethlehem Ship Yards and brought the world's record for riveting to America. The highest previous record was 4,442, made in Scotland. Knight was awarded a prize of \$150 by *The London Daily Mail*.

Matthew A. Henson, a negro, was the only person to accompany the late Commodore Robert E. Peary to the end of his dash to the North Pole, which was rewarded with success on April 7, 1909.

"This," the Commodore said, "was due to his exceptional fitness and ability."

J. G. Groves of Edwardsville, Kan., otherwise known as the "Potato King," raises and ships an average of 100,000 bushels of white potatoes a year.

Deal Jackson, a negro farmer of Albany, Ga., for thirteen successive years, until his death, produced and marketed the first bale of cotton each season in the entire South.

Such outstanding achievements on the part of individual negroes—and there are many others equally noteworthy—are a source of encouragement and inspiration to the entire race, increasing the general confidence in the personal capacities of its members and in the possibilities of the race as a whole. The race, therefore, has a pardonable pride in the fact that twenty-three negroes have served as members of the Congress of the United States—twenty-one in the House and two in the Senate, that more than 800 patents on original and improved devices have been granted to negroes; that forty-two negroes have been awarded medals from the Carnegie Hero Fund; that in the recent war, negroes contributed more than \$225,000,000 in response to the various wartime appeals, including Liberty bonds, thrift stamps, the Red Cross and the United War Work campaign, of which amounts the largest individual subscriptions were those of David H. Raines of Louisiana, who at one time purchased \$100,000 worth of the Fourth Liberty Loan bonds, and W. V. Chambliss of Alabama, a graduate of Tuskegee Institute, who bought \$20,000 worth of bonds at one time.

It is such facts as these that are begetting in the negroes of America deeper consciousness of their own possibilities of development and of their essential worth as American citizens. This is particularly true of a younger generation, who find it difficult to see any reason for making a distinction between men of equal achievements simply because of a difference in their color.

When President Harding delivered his recent address in Birmingham, Ala., on the race problem he referred to the fact that the race problem was no longer sectional, but national. This has become more apparent since the negro migration

in 1917, when, it is estimated, fully 700,000 negroes left the farms of the South and went into the industrial centres of the North. A few of these have come back to their homes in the South, but most of them have bought homes in the North and are prospering. But, in spite of the sudden wave of migration, the indications are that the majority of the colored people will always live in the South; hence the supreme importance of the Inter-Racial Commission and other similar agencies for promoting negro advancement and for encouraging good-will between the races. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that back of this apparently sudden migration there were certain definite economic and social factors which had long been operating to produce dissatisfaction and unrest. The "Negro Year Book" for 1917 gave the following as the chief causes of the migration:

(1) The 1914-1915 labor depression in the South and the accompanying cotton price demoralization, which came as a result of the World War, for cotton was the foundation of a large part of the economic activity of the South, so far as it related to the negro. (2) The ravages of the cotton boll weevil in the Summer of 1915-1916 over considerable sections of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida and the threat for 1917 to ravage the crop over a large area of the whole South. This unsettled farming conditions and greatly affected the situation as it related to the negro tenant farmer. (3) Unusual floods over large sections of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Florida, which, in conjunction with the boll weevil, demoralized farming conditions. (4) The generally low wages which had always obtained in the South. (5) Increase in the cost of living, with an accompanying tendency to decrease rather than to increase wages. Low wages was the reason most often given as the economic cause for migration. (6) The great shortage of labor in the North.

From the standpoint of the migrants themselves, the chief causes were: (1) Failure of the law to give physical protection and thus prevent lynching. (2) The treatment accorded negroes in the courts, such as imposing heavy fines for trivial causes and misdemeanors. (3) The mistreatment of negroes by officers of the law, especially constables and policemen. (4) The lack of legal protection and legal redress against insults to negro women, and for wrongs perpetrated against them. In no State of the South can a negro woman get a verdict or, in most instances, enter a suit against a white man for seduction; or where a white man is concerned is the law of consent made to apply to a negro girl. (5) The "Jim Crow" car (separate coach) law compelling all classes of negroes to ride in one compartment of a railway coach, and denying to

them the privileges of sleeping and dining cars. (6) The disfranchisement laws. (7) The generally neglected conditions of the negro sections of towns as to sanitation, improved streets and street lights. (8) The lack of adequate school facilities. (9) The insulting attitude and treatment accorded to negro patrons in many stores.

Those who would help in the solution of these problems may safely proceed with certain broad principles in view, among which are these: The negro, in every part of America, must be made secure in his life and in his property. It must be impressed on the people of this nation that race problems cannot be solved by lawlessness on the part of black or white, whether organ-

ized or not. It is not fair or just to terrorize all negroes in a community because of the alleged misconduct of one. All alleged criminals should be tried by the constituted tribunals.

Democratic America, which we all love and honor and for which many of our bravest and best gave their lives in the recent war, should give an example to the world of what democracy means; it should demonstrate that the greatness of a nation or race, in the last analysis, is to be measured by its ability to be fair to the humblest and the poorest—yes, and to the blackest, too.

AMERICA'S DEAD BROUGHT HOME

THE total deaths in the American Expeditionary Forces, including those on transports, between May, 1917, and Dec. 31, 1919, totaled 77,712. Of these, according to official figures published by the War Department at Washington on March 6, 1922, there had been brought back to the United States the bodies of 44,895. With the arrival in New York Harbor of the United States transport *Cambrai* on March 29, bearing the bodies of 1,060 more, the total brought back amounted to 45,955. It was officially announced that this was the last shipment of bodies which the Government would bring home. The rest were to remain in Europe. These—in round numbers—are distributed as follows: In France, 30,700; in Great Britain, 600; in Belgium, 400; in Russia, 85; in Germany and Luxemburg, 30; in Italy, 20.

When the *Cambrai* brought back the last shipload of soldier dead, the vessel was received with salutes from Forts Wadsworth and Hamilton, and on April 2, at the Army Base in South Brooklyn, all the 45,955 whose remains had been returned to their native soil were honored with ceremonies

that centred about a single coffin. In this lay the body of Private Charles W. Graves, Company M, 117th Infantry, who was killed in action on Oct. 5, 1918, only a month before the armistice. Under a clear blue sky, amid a fluttering ocean of flags and to the solemn tolling of Sabbath bells, the coffin was borne through the streets in a procession headed by war veterans and marked by the presence of noted ecclesiastics of various faiths and of military and governmental officials. Vast throngs watched the cortège pass to the strains of "Onward, Christian Soldier." Near the stand at the Army Base, facing the pier, stood the coffins of the other dead, among which the bereaved mothers and other relatives had silently moved, seeking their own. Eloquent addresses were delivered from the stand over the one coffin that symbolized 45,000 dead; among them was a special message from President Harding, calling on all to work to prevent a repetition of the world tragedy just completed. Three volleys were fired over the coffin and a bugler blew the notes of "Taps," the soldiers' farewell.

THE FIGHT FOR THE ATLANTIC

By CHARLES W. STOKES

How competition of North Atlantic steamship companies has increased since elimination of German lines—Preparations for intense activity, with many new vessels of improved types

THE fight for the Atlantic is on — especially the Atlantic passenger business, and most especially the North Atlantic passenger business. The ocean greyhounds are straining at the leash; very soon (to continue the metaphor) they will be rushing up and down the Atlantic lanes, chasing the Br'er Fox of traffic. This coming Summer promises to be one of intensest competition, mainly because there are so many more of these greyhounds. There are nineteen more than last year in the North Atlantic service alone, including the new Majestic (formerly the Bismarck, pride of Germany and the largest ship afloat) and the new Homeric (formerly the Columbus). There are fourteen more still in the hands of the builders, some of which may be put in service this year on the North Atlantic. During the six months between May and October, inclusive, there will be at least 109 steamships, totaling 1,688,000 gross tons, to sail from North American ports for Europe. They will make, in all, about 596 round voyages during these six months, representing a total sailing tonnage of 9,500,000. In addition to this, there are over thirty steamships, with a total tonnage of nearly 500,000, which are laid off or whose Summer schedules up to the time of writing (March, 1922) have not been announced.

The total number of ships whose tonnage exceeds 20,000 increased in 1921 from

TEN LARGEST LINERS

Name.	Line.	Tons.
Majestic.....	White Star.....	56,000
*Leviathan.....	U. S. Shipping Board.....	54,200
Berengaria.....	Cunard	52,000
Olympic.....	White Star.....	46,400
Aquitania.....	Cunard	45,600
Homeric.....	White Star.....	35,000
Paris.....	French Line.....	32,000
Mauretania.....	Cunard	30,700
†Belgenland....	Red Star.....	26,500
Empress of Scotland.....	Canadian Pacific.....	25,000

*Not in service. †Building.

twenty-two to twenty-eight. There are three building. A list of the largest ships is given in the accompanying table.

As illustrative of the density of traffic on the North Atlantic, of these thirty-one super-greyhounds only twelve are not or

will not be on the North Atlantic, and of the remainder only seven are not on, or intended for, the English Channel route. Omitting the Leviathan and the Belgenland, the nine largest ships in the world, capable of carrying 25,000 passengers, are on the English Channel route.

The frenzied period of shipbuilding which began about twenty years ago, and which ended with the war, resulted from the pace which the German lines using the English Channel forced upon the Liverpool lines. Previously the historic fight for supremacy had raged between the Cunard and the White Star; but from 1904 commenced a battle based upon the principle of competitive increases between nations. The White Star answered the Kaiserin Auguste Victoria, 24,581 tons, of 1905, with the Adriatic, 24,541 tons, of 1906. The Cunard answered with the Lusitania and Mauretania, 30,000 each, of 1907.

The next German effort, in 1908 (the George Washington, of 25,000 tons), showed a slight falling off; in 1911 the Cunard hit the Germans hard by laying down the Olympic and the Titanic, each

over 46,000 tons. But in 1912 the Germans came back with the *Imperator* (now the *Berengaria*), of 52,000 tons, and thenceforward, till 1914, with the *Vaterland* (now the *Leviathan*) and the *Bismarck*, held the lead, for the *Aquitania* of 1914 was of lesser tonnage than the *Olympic* of 1911. During all this period the French and Dutch lines, too—using the English Channel—were cutting in with ships of considerable size. For a brief period the Liverpool lines tried the experiment of using ports on the Bristol, or St. George's, Channel, with a shorter rail connection to London, but inevitably they were committed to either Plymouth or Southampton.

Now the pride of Germany's merchant marine has been humbled. Her monster vessels have been distributed among the Allies. Although one hears that Germany will "come back," that she is already planning a ship as large as the *Columbus*, the fact remains that of the tonnage mentioned above as sailing from North American ports this Summer, only 54,000 tons, less than 4 per cent., will sail under the German flag. The largest German ship afloat now is the *Hamburg-American Hansa*, of 16,703 tons.

Of the 596 sailings noted 249 are to the English Channel ports—either Plymouth or Southampton, Cherbourg or Havre, or a combination of those ports, in some cases with an extension to either Antwerp, Hamburg or Bremen. There are 97 sailings, more or less direct, to German and Dutch ports, and 41 to Scandinavian ports. To Liverpool there are 125 sailings announced, to Glasgow 64. To the Mediterranean there are only 20 sailings announced. Quite a number of the large ships also announce calls at Cobh, formerly Queenstown.

An examination of the American ports through which this business will pass reveals two interesting things. First, the pre-eminence of the port of New York, and, second, the rapid growth of the port of Montreal. St. Lawrence tonnage showed a higher ratio of increase over last year than New York. The *Cunard* has re-entered the St. Lawrence, after an absence of several years, with five steamers, four of them new; the *White Star* has transferred three ships to this route and built one, and the *Anchor-Donaldson* Company has built one.

The *Canadian Pacific* has four new ships, three of them just completed. Six new ships are also building for this route. The following shows the comparative standing:

Ports.	Ships.	Tons.	Sailings.
New York	76	1,246,522	421
Montreal and Quebec....	29	389,586	157
Other ports	4	51,920	18

Of the nineteen super-greyhounds that will sail the North Atlantic this Summer—those over 20,000 tons—78 per cent. of the tonnage will sail under the British flag. About 57 per cent. of the total tonnage on the Atlantic will sail under the British flag, 20 per cent. under the American, and 10 per cent. under the French.

Shipping is, like all industry, becoming centralized and passing into groups, the three most powerful of which control among them practically two-thirds of the passenger tonnage of the North Atlantic. The *White Star*, with its affiliations—the *White Star-Dominion*, the *Red Star*, the *Leyland* and the *Atlantic Transport Line*—operates nearly 450,000 tons. The *Cunard*, with the *Anchor* and *Anchor-Donaldson* Lines, operates 390,000 tons; then follows the *Canadian Pacific*, with 213,000 tons; the *Compagnie Generale Transatlantique*, with 137,000 tons, and the *United States Shipping Board*, with 160,000 tons. Estimating that the total passenger capacity of the modern steamship of the ordinary three-class type is about 75 persons per 1,000 tons, and of the two-class type about 100 per 1,000 tons, it can be calculated that if these 109 steamships sailed simultaneously they could carry besides their crews about 140,000 souls. In their 596 round voyages they would carry almost 800,000 people.

But the shipping companies apparently do not consider their fleets as overbuilt. Far from viewing the Atlantic outlook with pessimism, they have contracted for fourteen new ships with a total tonnage of 242,000—152,000 tons for New York, 90,000 tons for the St. Lawrence. (This does not include the *Leviathan*, which is now being reconditioned for the New York port at a cost of \$8,000,000 and will add 50,000 tons to the American total). It is not without significance that only three of these new ships will exceed 20,000 tons. Is the day of the monster steamship over?

HOW HUNGARY'S CHICKENS CAME HOME TO ROOST

By EMANUEL URBAS

An Austrian ex-member of the Imperial Diplomatic Service

EDITORIAL NOTE—
The death of ex-Emperor Charles V., which occurred in Madeira on April 1, 1922, after this article was in type, simply adds another touch of completeness to the imperial tragedy which is here described by Emanuel Urbas, and which this author ascribes to the tyranny of Magyar statesmen over other nationalities in the empire, rather than to the faults of the Hapsburg rulers.

PRUSSIA and Hungary occupy today a unique position in Europe, co-partners, as it were, on a dazzling eminence whose dubious grandeur becomes more and more apparent as the smoke of the great war is blown aside by time. For each country has destroyed, single-handed, a great empire, one less than half a century old, the other after nearly four hundred years of imperial life!

Prussia, by her defeat in 1918, brought down in ruins the German Empire, which first saw the light of day reflected, in 1871, in the mirrors of that historic hall in the Palace of Versailles; Hungary, through her intolerance, not only contributed to Prussia's downfall but wrecked the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which first took definite form in 1526 when the crowns



(Photo Pietzner, Vienna.)

PORTRAIT OF FRANCIS JOSEPH

The aged emperor of Austria-Hungary as he looked at the close of his life, after sixty-eight years on the throne, when the World War was completing the destruction of the Dual Empire. An interesting picture of the same ruler in his youth is shown on the next page.

of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia were united in the person of Ferdinand I., the Roman Emperor of that day.

Prussia's share in the undoing of the

work of Bismarck is well understood by the world at large, for it cannot be disputed that she was the predominant partner in the empire mainly created by her own efforts. But the world at large is not acquainted with the internal politics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and does not realize, as yet, that Hungary, and not Austria, is primarily responsible, at the bar of history, for the tearing apart of that great Danubian State in which she played so prominent a part.

Hungary is the real destroyer of the empire of Francis Joseph, and is, therefore, guilty of a double political crime. For she has not only murdered her Austrian sis-

ter State; she has committed political suicide herself! Indeed, this inquiry into comparatively recent history might well be entitled "Intolerance the Foe of Empire," for it is Hungary's intolerance and disregard of the rights of subject nationalities which has ruined not only Budapest but Vienna also.

Vienna may not yet realize to the full its own share in the mistakes of the past, but it is safe to say that Budapest is still as totally blind to its own fatal errors as it was in the Spring of 1914. For the Hungarians, when it comes to learning from experience, are the Bourbons of Middle Europe. They learn nothing, and they forget nothing. They have been ruined by monarchs and by aristocrats, and they are today more monarchial and more aristocratic than any other people in Europe, not even excepting the Prussians! And were they to be confronted tomorrow with another problem of submerged nationalities, they would, in all probability, prove themselves as shortsighted and intolerant as they have indisputably proved themselves in what is now yesterday.

This problem of the treatment of subject nationalities—that is to say, Czechs (or Bohemians), Croats, Poles, Rumanians and Slovaks, to name only the most important of them—had been a crying one in the Austrian Empire for more than a century before the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, and the Austrian archives had begun to bulge with plans for the solution of this complex problem at a time when most of the negotiators who met at St. Germain to determine the fate of the Austrian Empire were still unborn.

Necessarily, then, the young Austrian generation with whom I had grown up in the service of the State felt the irony of fate when, in the fourth year of the World

War, an American professor who had risen to be President of the United States of America began, from time to time, to lecture Austria on the successful solution of this vexed and ancient problem of nationalities. But irony became tragedy when statesmen, who had first to be instructed in the geography of Austria, assembled in the ancient chateau in which Louis XIV. was born, and, with all the haughtiness of the Louis XIV. school, set to work to solve, once and for all, the Austro-Hungarian problem.

Of course, the objection can justly be raised that Austro-Hungarian statesmen had plenty of time

to solve these problems of antagonistic peoples, and it is the purpose of this article to bring out the significant fact that, since 1867, every attempt on the part of Austrian statesmen to make the subject nations contented and even enthusiastic partners in the Austrian Empire was, sooner or later, shattered upon the rock of Hungarian intolerance!

THE ABSOLUTISM OF 1848

All this takes us back to the red year of 1848, the year of almost universal revolution in Europe, for the convulsions of that year gave birth to the first serious attempt to conciliate the empire's subject nations, which included, at that time, a large part of the inhabitants of the present Kingdom of Italy. Conjure up, if you can, you who have behind you centuries of self-govern-



YOUNG FRANCIS JOSEPH
Portrait of the Austro-Hungarian
ruler at the age of 18, when he as-
cended the throne in 1848

ment, the political conditions on the banks of the beautiful blue Danube only seventy-five years ago. On the imperial throne of Austria sat, or rather tottered, an amiable semi-idiot, Ferdinand. He could not keep his hands on the tiller of the ship of State, much less steer it, and the actual government was carried on by the now notorious *Staatsconferenz*, which, to all intents and purposes, consisted of the famous Prince Metternich, that untiring diplomat whose subterranean intrigues had gradually weakened and finally pulled down the great Napoleon thirty-three years before.

It was an extraordinary situation, viewed through modern eyes. The Austrian Kaiser—which, in this instance, meant the *Staatsconferenz*, which meant Metternich—had absolute power; there was no national Parliament whatever—indeed, there never had been a real Parliament in the Austrian Empire; there were Provincial Diets, so called, but they had practically no power, and whatever shadow of it existed was only of a local nature—there was no liberty of the press; there were no juries; all trials were conducted by imperial judges, who could be depended upon to remember on which side their bread was buttered and who had buttered it; Jews were absolutely debarred from all Government positions; Protestants were in like case, practically, though officially and theoretically they had the right to such appointments; all letters could be, and were daily being, opened by Metternich's secret police; and, to end with by no means an anti-climax, neither Goethe nor Schiller could be read or studied in the schools or universities!

Was it any wonder that the revolutionary ferment which swept over the rest of Europe should find rich food in Austria?

When the storm did finally break, Met-

ternich escaped to England, and the panic-stricken Emperor fled to Innsbruck in Tyrol, to be deposed soon afterward by his anxious Hapsburg relatives in favor of his 18-year-old nephew, Francis Joseph, who assumed the crown on Dec. 2, 1848, in the archiepiscopal palace at Olmutz, in Moravia.

Two tasks now confronted the young Emperor. It was necessary for him to subdue the rebellious Hungarians, a difficult project, which he eventually accomplished with the aid of Russian troops; it also appeared to be necessary to profit by the lessons of the revolution of 1848. This Francis Joseph attempted to do by summoning to Krem-



COUNT JULIUS ANDRÁSSY
Hungarian Prime Minister, 1867-70,
and Austro-Hungarian Minister of
Foreign Affairs, 1870-79, regarded by
some as the chief architect of Hun-
gary's misfortunes

sier, a small town not far from Olmutz, what is known to history as the Kremser Reichstag, which, as a matter of fact, had begun its sessions in Vienna several months before and which was, in reality, the first Parliament ever called together to legislate for, or at any rate to represent the whole of, Austria: Anglo-Saxons might term this body a Constituent Assembly, rather than an actual law-making Legislature; but, whatever it really was, it did finally draw up a project for a Constitution for the whole Austrian Empire—including Hungary, which had refused to send delegates to this rump Parliament—and continued its rebellious career throughout the short life of the Kremser body, which ended in March, 1849.

This Kremser Constitution, welded together from materials heated to a white

heat in the fires of revolution, cleverly combined a plan for a strong central German Government in Vienna, with subsidiary plans seeking to conciliate, by the grant of local government, all the other more or less subordinate nations in the empire, in particular the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Poles and the South Slavs, the latter a phrase which covered not exactly a multitude of sins (though that was doubtless the official Austrian view), but such closely allied races as the Croats, the Slovenes and the Serbians of the Dalmatian coast. In other words, the Germans of Vienna and of the Central Austrian Provinces were to keep a tight rein on the Imperial Government, but the non-German peoples were to be at liberty, within bounds, to administer their own affairs.

Here was a very promising beginning for a youth of 18 just hoisted into his gilded saddle, and had young Francis Joseph carried out this plan his subsequent imperial years would have generated more light and much, very much, less heat! But the well-meaning youth was surrounded by that bane of every inexperienced or vacillating ruler—bad counselors—and the various revolutions in Austria, Bohemia, Hungary and Italy having been successfully quelled—in many cases with regrettable bloodshed and even callous cruelty—Francis Joseph decided to return to an absolutistic regime, and proceeded to alter the Kremsier Constitution accordingly.

This was the first great, perhaps the greatest, mistake of Francis Joseph's long reign (if we leave out of consideration the aged Emperor's unwilling entrance into the World War exactly sixty-five years later!) For at that time Hungary was prostrate; Kossuth had fled across the Hungarian frontier into Turkey, and the proud Hungarian Magnates (as they are still called) were in no position to block the demands for self-government on the part of the Slav peoples not only in the Austrian domains proper but also in Hungary itself.

The young Emperor could readily have given all these discontented peoples, including the Magyars themselves, their much-prized autonomy, and thus established that imperial federation of self-governing States which neither the Austrian Kaiser himself nor any of his occasionally enlightened statesmen were ever

able, afterward, to call into existence—owing to the determined and ruthless opposition of a recrudescing and intolerant Hungary.

More than half a century was to elapse before the final fruits of this initial mistake were to be harvested at St. Germain in the shape of the breaking-up of the empire and the formation of new and sovereign States; but its immediate results were soon apparent.

THE CURSE OF DUALISM

In the space of thirteen years young Francis Joseph changed the Austrian Constitution four times—in the latter part of 1849, in 1860, in 1862, and, finally, in 1865—and these years of a renewed attempt at imperial absolutism were years of grave territorial losses, beginning with the cession of Lombardy to Italy as the result of the war against France in 1859. Then came the loss of Venice and its hinterland to Italy in 1866, as the result of the six weeks' war against Prussia, whose armies, under the old Emperor William, Bismarck and von Moltke, crushed Benedek's brave but shockingly mismanaged troops at Sadowa (Koniggratz) and marched to within sight of the towers of Vienna herself.

Deprived of practically all her Italian possessions and supplanted by Prussia as overlord of Bavaria, Hanover and the smaller States of Germany, Austria was now compelled to face, once more, a hostile Hungary, which had regained its feet in the eighteen years since 1848 and was now clamoring—as only Hungarian politicians can clamor!—for a purely Hungarian Constitution, which is a polite way of expressing the determination of the Magyar people to be supreme in their own domain, no matter how much they might be in a numerical minority.

The subsequent negotiations between what were really two different nations—the Magyars and the German-speaking Austrians—would, under a constitutional and parliamentary government, have been conducted between duly elected representatives of the two peoples, but it was still an age of absolutism in Vienna, even in 1867, and these all-important discussions were carried on solely between Francis Joseph himself (assisted by advisers of his own choosing and way of thinking) and the

diplomats of Budapest. These pourparlers inevitably had to do as much with the relations between Hungary and Austria as between Hungary and the Emperor, but no true representatives of the Austrian people were allowed to be present, and the Emperor must bear his share of the responsibility for the evils which flowed from the resulting agreement. That agreement became popularly known as dualism, which was a simple way of expressing the eminently practical fact that the empire was to be divided into two parts, the eastern and the western, the Hungarians to be free to work their will in the former as they should see fit.

So the Emperor and the Magyars patched up a peace off to one side, and the Austrian Parliament, which now had to face the consequences, had no other alternative than to vote either for or against it. The Austrians could not alter or modify it. It was all or nothing. So Parliament finally swallowed the more or less bitter pill and then voted for similar laws for the western, or Austrian, half of the empire.

After the defeat of Sadowa, the settlement of the Hungarian question was undoubtedly very urgent, but it was at least quite as urgent for the Emperor and his Ministers to settle all the other national problems within the monarchy. The Crown, however, was still befogged by the Metternich tradition, and took no steps toward reform until compelled to do so under pressure. So the other peoples began to come and claim their rights themselves.

CLAIMS OF OTHER NATIONALITIES

First came the Poles, who, during the negotiations with Hungary, and even before the Austrian Parliament had sanctioned the dualistic laws, had persuaded Francis Joseph to promise them that Galicia should have certain privileges within the Austrian Constitution. These privileges were never sanctioned by law, but as a matter of fact they remained in force from 1867 till far on into the World War. The principal concession was that the Governor of Galicia should always be a Pole and should have in his territory greater authority than the other Governors of Austrian provinces. In addition, a Pole was to hold the portfolio of Minister for Gal-

icia in every Austrian Ministry; Galicia was to have her due share of seats in the Austrian Parliament, and the laws decreed by Parliament for the purely Austrian provinces were to have the same validity for Galicia. These concessions, such as they were, the Poles achieved for themselves at the last moment, and the other nations which came forward later to claim their rights found that they had come too late.

The first of these late comers were the Bohemians or, as they are now called, the Czechs. For various historical reasons, the Czechs would seem, to the impartial observer, to have been quite justified in seeking for the same independence within the monarchy as had been granted by the Emperor to the Hungarians, and their spokesmen earnestly besought Francis Joseph to concede to them their own Government at Prague, the coronation of the Austrian Kaiser as King of Bohemia and the withdrawal of their representatives from the Vienna Parliament (just as the Hungarians had withdrawn).

All through the years 1867 to 1870 these negotiations dragged on between the Czech leaders and Francis Joseph, who, after the defeat of Sadowa, was not especially pro-German, and it seemed evident that he was inclined to yield to demands which were now being strongly opposed by the Austrian Germans. Finally, in February, 1871, Francis Joseph appointed a Ministry, under the Premiership of Count Hohenwart, whose duty it was to grant not only the national wishes of the Czechs, but also those of all the other more or less submerged nationalities—in a word, to change the Austrian almost absolute monarchy into an imperial federation of self-governing nations.

In the light of subsequent events this seems to have been the wisest move ever made by the Crown, but neither the Emperor nor Count Hohenwart, nor any other politician in Austria apparently, foresaw that the dualistic legislation of 1867 stood directly in the way of this solution.

The only stipulation in regard to Austria on the part of the Hungarian negotiators of 1867 was that Austria herself should also be governed constitutionally. This stipulation was, indeed, a matter of course, because certain governmental institutions

which regulated various matters for Austria and Hungary could not have in Hungary a constitutional basis and in Austria an absolutistic basis. Nowhere, however, in the laws of 1867 and in the protocols of negotiations between the Crown and the Hungarian statesmen of that time, is a word to be found which, apart from the aforementioned stipulation of a constitutional Government, interfered with, or even referred to, the construction of the Austrian State or its administration.

SHORT-SIGHTED LEADERS

In his home policy Count Andrassy had, in Austria, one powerful ally, the German Liberal Party. Whether these Liberals would have seriously opposed the creation of an imperial federation in 1871 seems very doubtful, as the Hohenwart Ministry was by no means out of touch with its party leaders; but after Andrassy's victory over Hohenwart the Liberals suddenly discovered their great interest in dualism, and from that moment they became the most stubborn supporters of the Magyars in defense of the laws of 1867 and of the Andrassy version of 1871. Indeed, until far on into the World War these same German-speaking Liberals stoutly opposed all endeavors to federalize Austria, their argument being that, if they must lose their political leadership in Austria, they would prefer to have the monarchy fall to pieces, for then they could unite with Germany! Which, from an Austrian standpoint, was not very patriotic. But it was at least easy to understand from a purely German point of view.

On the other hand, however, the attitude of the Magyars, who had the greatest interest in the preservation of the monarchy, was inexplicable. For they would not (or could not) see that, by opposing a solution of the problem of submerged nationalities, they were contributing to the piling up of explosive materials whose certain ignition some day would inevitably destroy the empire. They were even so blind and so madly ambitious that they declared, both before and during the World War, that, in case the principles of dualism should be wrecked and part of the Austrian Government should be handed over to the Slavs (either north or south),

the whole of Hungary would separate itself from Austria and declare its independence!

But these short-sighted Hungarian politicians (which optical term includes nearly all the ruling class, either Government Party or Opposition) seemed to forget entirely that the Magyars owed their predominance in Hungary solely to the peculiar and privileged position of Hungary within the monarchy, and that the instant the monarchy fell and the iron collar of dualism became broken the Croats, the Serbians, the Rumanians and the Slovaks in Hungarian territory would desert their Magyar oppressors.

Only a few isolated Magyar politicians saw this clearly; perhaps the only one of the Hungarian Ministers who did so was Prince Ludwig Windischgratz, Food Minister in the Weckerle Cabinet, which came to power soon after the fall of Count Tisza in 1917. But after the breakdown even Prince Windischgratz ran after the diplomats of the western powers in Switzerland in a vain attempt to save those famous historical frontiers of Hungary which have now vanished into air.

CRUSHING THE MINOR NATIONALITIES

With the fall of the Hohenwart Ministry the first period of the reign of Emperor Francis Joseph came to an end. It was characterized by the Emperor's attempt to maintain the compact structure of his empire, first by a centralistic absolutist régime, and then, after the total failure of this Metternich system, by transforming the empire into a self-governing federation, a policy which, as we have shown, was shipwrecked by the Emperor's subservience to the Magyars.

And so the second period began, a period which I date from the fall of the Hohenwart Cabinet to about the beginning of the present century, and which was made notable by the insubordination of the Czechs, who were never able to forgive Francis Joseph's treachery, as they termed his acquiescence in the veto of Count Andrassy, for such acquiescence involved the repudiation of the Emperor's pledges to them. Indeed, the Czechs' first move was noticeable enough, for they absented themselves, one and all, from 1871 to 1879, from the Vienna Reichsrat, which thus be-

came another Austrian rump Parliament. Meantime, the internal dissolution of the empire progressed rapidly, and the effects of intolerance became more and more marked, especially in the eastern or Hungarian half of the monarchy. There the Magyar nobility ruled autocratically over a conglomeration of subject races, and was hard at work attempting to Magyarize the Croatian, Rumanian and Slovak territories by every means in their power.

HUNGARY'S FATAL SELFISHNESS

But—and here is where Hungary steps to the front in the character of the ultimate destroyer of the empire—when the Ministry of Count Hohenwart actually began, in 1871, to plan to transform Austria into a federation, and, by granting to the various races subject to Austria the rights of self-government, thus to bind them to the House of Hapsburg by ties of gratitude; when, moreover, Francis Joseph himself had promised, over his signature, to see to it that the Czechs' wishes along various lines should be granted—when all this had come to pass, then something entirely unexpected occurred whose results finally proved fatal to the monarchy!

The Hungarian Prime Minister of the time, Count Julius Andrassy, the father of the last Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister (who appealed to Woodrow Wilson for a separate peace), appeared in Vienna, and told the Emperor, with emphasis, that a federation of the Austrian half of the empire would tear asunder the

dualistic legislation of 1867 with Hungary! Why? Because, said he, whatever the letter of that legislation was, its spirit was that the monarchy was to consist of

approximately two equally strong and equally well-balanced States. Whereas now, he continued, the creation of several self-governing States within Austria would inevitably destroy this political balance.

That, of course, was the diplomatic way of putting it. What Andrassy really meant was this (the quotation marks are ours):

"In Hungary today (1871), we, the Magyars, though a decided minority of the inhabitants of the country called Hungary, have been given the power, by this dualistic legislation, to do what we will with the other races within our borders. And we are doing it, and will continue so to do until the Ruthenians, the Rumanians and the Slavs learn to be good Magyars, which, of course, may take

time. But we have the whip hand; we, the Magyars, are supreme in the eastern half of your empire, and we mean to remain so.

"But, your Majesty, if you grant self-governing rights to the subject peoples in the Austrian half of your empire, that will give new hope to their relatives in our territory, and then there will be a lot of nonsense about minorities oppressing majorities, and so on! And, as they say across the water in a certain large republic, we, the Magyars, will have our work cut out for us! Better let things stay as they are—the Magyars the cocks of the walk east



COUNT BERCHTOLD
Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign
Affairs at the outbreak of the World War,
who sent the fatal ultimatum to Serbia.
He is now an exile in Switzerland

of the Leitha River, and the German-speaking Austrians the same to the west thereof."

All of which is quite intelligible, human nature being as it regrettably is.

At any rate, Francis Joseph grasped the fact that Count Andrassy had Hungarian fire in his eye, and promptly summoned a Privy Council. Whereupon Count Beust, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, defended the standpoint of Count Hohenwart; and Count Andrassy, with the greatest vehemence, expounded his interpretation of the legislation of 1867, according to which there were to be only two States in the monarchy, an Austrian State in which Germans were to be supreme and a Hungarian State in which the Magyars were to be everything that amounted to anything. Indeed, according to Andrassy's version, the other races in both States were degraded to the status of peoples of the second order, and scarcely that!

ANDRASSY'S FATAL SUCCESS

For some time after this momentous Privy Council (more momentous, surely, than any of those who took part in it realized) the issue hung in the balance; but at last the Emperor decided for the interpretation of Count Andrassy, dissolved the Hohenwart Cabinet, dismissed Count Beust from his post as Foreign Minister, and appointed Count Andrassy in the latter's stead! The die was cast! *The empire's fate was sealed!*

From that moment, Count Andrassy's arbitrary interpretation of the laws of 1867 became the law and the gospel for the internal politics of Austria-Hungary, and it was solely this interpretation of the meaning of dualism (to which Francis Joseph adhered till his death) which tied the hands of all subsequent Austrian Cabinets and prevented them from granting self-government to their increasingly rebellious non-German populations, notably the Czechs in the North and the Slavs in the South!

Even after the lamented death of Francis Joseph in 1916, this fatal Andrassy interpretation lived on in the person of its most stubborn representative, Count Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister before and during the greater part of the World War. Even in the days of Austria-Hungary's greatest peril, when the last efforts were

being made to save the empire, and when it was realized that nothing but the most sweeping concessions could conciliate Czechs and Slavs—even then, neither the young Emperor Charles nor any Austrian statesman was able to remove this dualistic rock on which the empire of the Hapsburgs was finally wrecked, a rock composed almost entirely of Hungarian granite!

But, of course, politicians could see into the future no better in 1871 than they can today, and it is very doubtful whether Count Andrassy ever had the slightest doubt as to the Solomonesque wisdom of his course. At any rate, seven years after the fall of the Hohenwart Cabinet, Andrassy, with never a misgiving, proceeded to lead the monarchy into Bosnia, and thus involved the empire in those increasingly bitter disputes with Serbia which proved to be the beginning of the end.

It was Andrassy's plan to enlarge the monarchy by a great South Slav territory, which would recompense Francis Joseph for Lombardy and Venice, and it cannot be denied that this he accomplished. But he really did much more than this (more, perhaps, than he ever intended), for the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina seemed to the more imperialistic of his countrymen to open a direct road to Salonika and all the riches of the East, a road which, forty-five years later, proved to be lighted with the dancing *ignis fatuus* of imperial defeat, decay, demoralization and death!

Accordingly, no schools in the language of the subject nationalities were allowed to exist (with the single exception of Croatia, which had received a certain measure of cultural autonomy in 1867); all election districts were so "gerrymandered" (to borrow an American political phrase) that the submerged races had no chance whatever to send a just proportion of delegates to Budapest; the elections themselves were characterized by the most open and flagrant terrorism on the part of the superior Magyar stock; all juries which had to do with political cases were so manipulated as to be nothing more or less than Magyar instruments; all opposition newspapers were kept well under a none too gentle control; and the compulsory three years' service in the Hungarian Army gave

the dominant people ample opportunity to curb recalcitrant recruits who did not belong, as it were, to the true political and racial faith.

AUSTRIA AND THE SLAVS

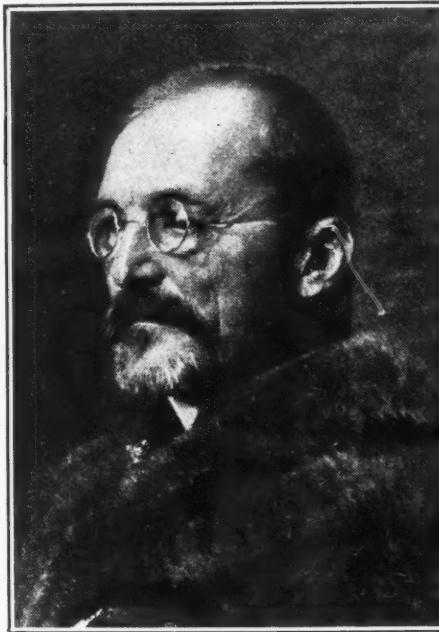
On the Austrian side of the monarchy, the Germans were now expected to assume the same attitude toward their own subject races as the Magyars had already assumed in Hungary. This was the decision of Count Andrassy, and from 1871 until 1918 that dictum was never successfully disputed. Thenceforth the essentially German character of the Austrian State was strictly maintained. All the subject peoples of Austria were ruled by a power seated in Vienna. The high officials in the Vienna Ministries were 95 per cent. German. The Austrian Kaiser and his large court seldom left Vienna from this time on, and when Francis

Joseph did so it was only to hold a few short ceremonies in Budapest as King of Hungary. Even the Austrian Army now became an instrument of Germanization.

Moreover, whenever the slightest attempt was made to show favor to the Austrian Slavs—who, as a matter of cold statistics, actually outnumbered the German-speaking population of Austria—the German Embassy at Vienna immediately became the rallying ground of the German members of Parliament and of the German-speaking journalists of Vienna, and thus the political alliance with the German Empire was thrown into the scale.

Finally, whenever a compromise on these racial questions seemed imminent, the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, which was the mouthpiece of the Germans in Austria, and

which lived, so to speak, on the struggle between Germans and Czechs, would throw a new burning brand into the political arena with invariably disastrous results, for the German Parliamentary Deputies of that day regarded this paper as a sort of political gospel.



COUNT TISZA

Hungarian Prime Minister during the World War, and a leader in forcing war on Serbia. He was murdered by a Hungarian private soldier in 1918

especially the Czechs, to the side of the monarchy and for his policy.

But every attempt provoked tempestuous scenes in the Vienna Parliament—probably at that time, and for years afterward, the most riotous body of its kind in the world!—and at last, about 1900, the Austrian Kaiser definitely abandoned all his efforts to conciliate his Slav subjects. He seems to have resigned all thought of continuing to exercise personal influence in such matters, and, apparently despairing of any solution which would so solve racial problems as to satisfy all parties, handed the governing power over to a series of Cabinets formed, for the most part, by politically insignificant State officials.

At this time a patriotic feeling for the Empire of Austria as a whole—for the

ATTITUDE OF THE EMPEROR

Toward all this the Emperor himself, who exercised great personal influence on the development of the home policy of Austria till about the beginning of the present century, adopted a strange attitude. While every one about him—his own court, the Magyar nobility, the Austrian civil service, the army, and the German Embassy—combined to maintain the supremacy in Austria of the German-speaking elements, Francis Joseph, during this, the second period of his reign, tried again and again to win over the Austrian Slavs,

empire as an institution representative of a number of associated nations—became so exceedingly rare that, even in the army and in the civil service, it was regarded as showing a want of character not to confess one's self as belonging to, and supporting, some one particular race. Any one who desired to be considered an upright man had to have a political conviction for some special nation within the empire, and the more radical these convictions were, the greater were his chances of becoming a prominent figure in public life.

More conspicuously than any of the other races, the Germans, who still regarded themselves as the pillars of the State, now became more and more extreme in their ideas, and on both sides of the Leitha River—that is to say, in Hungary and in Austria—the two dominant races continued to strengthen their respective positions at the expense of their fellow-subjects of the other tongues.

The popularity of the aging Emperor was now fast dwindling away and the future of the empire appeared to grow darker from year to year. Finally, the universal pessimism gave birth to the conviction that the monarchy was only kept together by the person of Francis Joseph. Indeed, when, toward the end of the last century, I came up from the outskirts of the empire to make my home in Vienna, I found that in the capital every one believed and declared that the Austrian Empire would fall to pieces at the death of the Emperor!

THREE GREAT LEADERS

But it was at this very period of universal depression that there came forward three persons of mark who undertook to fight against Austria's internal diseases, to breathe a new Austrian spirit into the young, and to raise up again a lively belief in the future of the State. And it was due to the exertions of these three men—Dr. Karl Lueger, leader of the Christian-Socialist Party and for many years Mayor of Vienna; Count Aehrenthal, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the heir-apparent to the throne, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand—that what became famous in Middle Europe as the Great Austrian Idea took such a firm hold upon the younger and more progressive elements of Austria.

The backbone of this new conception of

the empire's mission and future in the world was the abolition of that fatal political dualism under whose protection the German Austrians in the west and the Magyars in the east had been given more or less complete liberty to Germanize and Magyarize at will. In dualism's stead was to be firmly planted that federation which Andrassy had so summarily decapitated twenty years before, but which was now to give to all the subject peoples, even in Hungary, the right to govern themselves in their provincial affairs, a right which would effectively secure to each historic race, no matter how weak in power or numbers, those things which are so infinitely dear to the peoples of the earth—their own language, their own schools, their own traditions and customs and, above all, their own religion. In short, there was no longer to be an empire divided into two distinct and somewhat antagonistic parts, but one federated commonwealth, a sisterhood of equal, self-governing nations, with an increased army and navy in which all the various races could serve with a hitherto unknown patriotic zeal.

It was a statesmanlike conception which sought to combine greater freedom of the parts with a firmer welding together of the whole, an idea which aimed to conciliate all the various peoples in the empire and yet keep them in a more closely knit, organic union, a political project whose horizon was almost unlimited, for it also sought to attract into the empire the outside Balkan nations and thus give Austria a supreme European if not a world position.

It was a grand conception, but time—and Hungary—have transformed the grand to grandiose!

DR. LUEGER'S FAMOUS PHRASE

The most original and most effective personality of the three principal supporters of the Great Austrian Idea was Dr. Karl Lueger, to whose ceaseless exertions Vienna owes its splendid water system and many other notable improvements. Most of the details of the Great Austrian Idea which later formed a part of the political program of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand came from Lueger, especially the policy aimed at Hungary. As leader of a powerful Catholic and anti-Semitic party

in Austria, Lueger entered into relations with the Rumanian and Croatian parties in Hungary and was thus able to strengthen the backbone of those minorities, which were being oppressed by their Magyar rulers.

Lueger was strongly supported in his Great Austrian views by the Archduke, who continued to advocate them until a short time before the World War and who was also responsible for this notable phrase, famous at the time: "Hungary must be conquered once more!" This meant that should Hungary continue to resist imperial federation, there would be no other alternative than to put down this opposition of the oligarchy of the Magyar nobles by force of arms! The idea behind these striking words, which naturally aroused the deadliest hatred for the Archduke in the hearts of the Magyar magnates, came from Count Ottokar Czernin, one of Francis Ferdinand's closest political friends, later Foreign Minister under the Emperor Charles and now a plain Deputy from the City of Vienna in the Austrian Parliament, where he sits cheek by jowl with a new political generation.

Subsequently—that is to say, a few years before the beginning of the end—Count Czernin was sent as Austrian Ambassador to Budapest, where he was immediately taken to task for his pro-federation and anti-Hungarian ideas by Count Tisza, the then all-powerful Prime Minister of Hungary, who succeeded in obtaining from Count Czernin a complete and satisfactory denial.

Nevertheless, it is still flatly asserted by former members of the Austrian diplomatic service who were in a position to know the facts that either the exact words, "Hungary must be conquered once more," or the ideas behind such a phrase, were actually contained in a political memorandum which was drawn up by Count Czernin for the guidance of Francis Ferdinand when he should ascend the throne upon the death of Francis Joseph, and which was subsequently shown by the Archduke to at least one of his friends.

At any rate, such was the feeling aroused in Hungary by this particular phrase that it inspired one of the wild rumors which gained circulation immediately after the Archduke's assassination—namely, that the

Magyar leaders had removed from the land of the living a person dangerous to the continuance of Hungarian supremacy!

COUNT AEHRENTHAL'S INFLUENCE

Of the three principal protagonists of the Great Austrian Idea, Count Louis Aehrenthal, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister from 1906 to 1912, was the most cautious and, consequently, might have proved the most successful if he had not, unfortunately for his country, succumbed at an early age to an insidious disease. But it is only stating facts to say that he was not exactly a favorite with Francis Joseph, that Kaiser Wilhelm and his statesmen regarded him with great distrust and that his protector and close friend, Francis Ferdinand, eventually became his bitterest enemy as the result of a quarrel between Aehrenthal and the Chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, Conrad von Hotzendorf (who is today severely criticised in Austria for his military operations in the first half of the war).

Had Count Aehrenthal become Foreign Minister ten years earlier, European politics would certainly have taken another course. But in 1906 his health had already become deeply undermined, and during his last official years, when he had daily so many enemies to contend with, he had also daily to contend with death.

It might be not unnatural to surmise that this Great Austrian Idea—which included among what American politicians would call its "planks" a powerful army, a strong fleet and a resumption of the foreign policy of Prince Eugene, with a steady pressing on toward Salonika—was what finally plunged the monarchy into war; but that is not the fact. The idea was practically dead when the body of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was carried into the Konak (the Government Palace) in Serajevo on that fateful afternoon of June 28, 1914.

WHY THE IDEA FAILED

Was Austria so rotten that even the enthusiasm of a new generation could not find firm ground to stand upon? Or was this new spirit born out of due time? Both suppositions are true. The Great Austrian Idea started too late, and was very soon ruined by the propaganda of the various

circles who struggled against each other under the frightful governmental pressure of Francis Joseph's last years.

As a matter of historical fact, the Great Austrian Idea, so far as it meant imperial federation, had three powerful enemies—Hungary, Emperor Francis Joseph himself and the military party in Austria. In order to overcome this triple hostility of a proud and arrogant race of 8,000,000 people, of an old ruler whose convictions seemed to be no longer subject to change and of a powerful army clique, the promoters of the Great Austrian Idea, in and out of Court circles in Vienna, would have had to work in perfect harmony and would have had to be men of the strongest will-power. Lueger, Aehrenthal and the Archduke were all forceful personalities, but the will-power of Aehrenthal took the form of diligence, and that of the Archduke self-will, whereas Lueger, the most popular Mayor Vienna had ever known, had the versatility of a tribune of the people. So it soon became evident that these three men could never work together for long. Lueger was too much of a demagogue for Count Aehrenthal; Aehrenthal was too diplomatic for the Archduke, and a complete understanding between the Archduke and Lueger did not take place until shortly before the death of the latter.

For a time the heir to the throne tried to find a just solution of the South Slav question, but in his latter years, under the influence of high military officials, a strong disposition to increase the powers of the Central Government at the expense of outlying regions was noticeable in him, and the "Trialists," who advocated the erection of a third, or South Slav, State within the monarchy (to consist of Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia) and who, for a time, thought they had found a patron in the Archduke, felt themselves, at last, disappointed in, and denied by, him.

In spite of all this, the Great Austrian Idea was not quite barren, for under its auspices, a partial adjustment of the German-Czech differences in Moravia took place and, just before the war, a Polish-Ruthenian compromise was brought about in Galicia. What was achieved in Moravia might certainly have been arrived at in Bohemia also, and although the Galician compromise was only a beginning, never-

theless a new policy in the eastern half of the empire might have developed from it. But facts are facts, and to the very last, on account of the extreme sensibility of the Hungarian Government on the subject, the South Slav question remained apparently incapable of solution. It was, as it had ever been since 1871, a case of Hungary stubbornly blocking the way!

THE SOUTH SLAV QUESTION

As with all racial questions in Austria, the South Slav problem—which, in the end, proved to be the most deadly of all, for the failure to solve it led directly to the war with Serbia, and thus to the great war itself—began as far back as the middle of the last century.

In the revolution of 1848, when the Hungarian Diet declared that the Hapsburg dynasty had forfeited its imperial rights, Croatia, which even then constituted a part of the countries belonging to the Hungarian crown, rose against the Magyar rebels in defense of the Emperor! The army of Banus Jellacic, inspired with enthusiasm for the imperial cause, rushed impetuously against the Hungarian revolutionaries, and although their aid was insufficient and young Francis Joseph was finally obliged to call in the armies of Russia in order completely to crush the Magyar rising, still the Croats had every reason to expect that their attitude in these broils would meet with suitable recognition. But they were destined to be bitterly disappointed, for, eighteen years later, in the dual Constitution of 1867, the Austrian Kaiser delivered Croatia up into the hands of the Magyars!

The Croats never forgave the Court at Vienna for this ingratitude, and although their regiments never threw down their arms and deserted to the enemy in the World War (as was done in only too many instances by the Czechs), their stout fighting against the Italians was not due to their love for Austria or for Hungary, but to their deeply rooted dislike for and fear of the Italians, whose claims to the great peninsula of Istria and the eastern or Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic were extremely distasteful to these blood brothers of their Serbian neighbors to the south.

The other factor in the South Slav question arose out of the relations between Aus-

tria-Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbia. During the nineteenth century these relations were especially friendly, and it was repeatedly proposed to the Cabinet in Vienna by the Serbian Government—the last time as late as the reign of King Milan (1872-89)—that Serbia should be received as a federal State within the Austro-Hungarian Empire! (What would the proposers of this project in Belgrade and its opponents in Vienna say today if they could revisit this earth?) In fact, it was not till the abdication of Milan that these relations altered for the worse.

At the beginning of the present century disputes over the Magyar customs administration, which virtually put an end to the importation of Serbian pigs into Hungary, led to a great deal of friction between the empire and Serbia, and this friction finally took a hostile turn when, in 1908, Austria-Hungary announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzego-

vina. Indeed, from that time on, hostility was a constant and ever-increasing factor in disturbing the relations between the Danubian monarchy and the neighboring kingdom.

In fact, on the annexation of Bosnia, the South Slav question became extremely acute, not so much because the so-called claims of Serbia to the country were infringed upon or because the political feelings of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina were violated by this annexation but because of the peculiar position which Bosnia and its smaller sister were finally forced to occupy in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

There seemed to be only three possibilities for Bosnia. Either it must become a part of the Austrian State or of the Hungarian State, or it must be given a third Constitution, with a Government of its own under the Hapsburg dynasty. The Aus-

trian Government was willing to agree to any of the three solutions, provided the Dalmatian question should not be decided unfavorably for Austria. (In the compromise of 1867 Kaiser Francis Joseph had promised to return Dalmatia to the Hungarians, who declared they had some ancient historical claims to this tract of country along the eastern coast of the Adriatic; but this promise was never fulfilled, and Dalmatia remained under Austrian rule until the end of the World War.) So Austria raised no obstacles in regard to Bosnia. But when Count Aehrenthal queried the Hungarian Government as to its views he received an answer which for narrow-

mindedness, short-sightedness and silliness cannot be easily matched. In short, the Hungarian Government protested strongly against all three solutions!

HUNGARIAN OBJECTIONS

According to these Magyar statesmen, the annexation of Bosnia by Hungary was out of the question, because this would put an end to the Magyar character of the Hungarian State, a euphemistic way of saying that the addition of so many more Slavs to those already in Hungary would make the task of the Magyar overlords extremely difficult, if not impossible. Moreover, Bosnia's incorporation by Austria could



DR. KARL LUEGER

Famous Mayor of Vienna, leader of the Catholic Party, and the brains behind the "Great Austrian Idea," which aimed to save the empire by giving autonomy to each of the various nationalities

not be allowed by Hungary, because the even balance of these two States of the monarchy would be disturbed by it to the disadvantage of the Magyars! And, finally, the creation of a third State within the empire would rend asunder the dual Constitution of 1867, upset the *status quo* and make Hungary's subject races more restless than ever!

The upshot of all this was that Bosnia was finally annexed by *both* Austria and Hungary on equal terms and became, as it were, both Austrian and Hungarian State territory. But it was not common State territory, for the Magyars asserted that this would be contrary to their political law. Bosnia was Hungarian State territory for the Hungarians and Austrian State territory for the Austrians, and both States gave their consent that the joint monarch should pronounce his own personal sovereignty over Bosnia. Altogether, it was a tangled up political skein which could only have been properly unraveled by what I am informed is a marvel of ingenuity, a Philadelphia lawyer!

At any rate, the country had to be governed somehow, so the administration of Bosnia was again entrusted to the Common (or Joint) Minister of Finance, who had already carried on the administration since the occupation, that is to say, for thirty years. In the same way, a General was continued on as Governor at Serajevo.

If this scheme of annexation had been worked out consistently, Bosnia would have been entitled to send representatives to the Vienna as well as to the Budapest Parliament. But the Hungarian interpreters of political law were not so consistent as all this, for the Magyars in the Hungarian Parliament did not wish to find themselves face to face with a united group of Slav Deputies. So Bosnia was given a Diet of its own at Serajevo and was expected to be reasonably content with a so-called Parliamentary body which was a sham, pure and simple. Meanwhile, of course, there was no Minister who was responsible to Bosnia; there was no Administrative Court of Law; and, most important of all, Bosnia had no vote in the settlement of her own affairs. In a word, except for the fact that there was a Diet at Serajevo, which was generally dismissed when it became

awkward for the General in Command, and for the fact that the bells no longer rang in Bosnia on the Sultan's birthday, one might well have said that there had not been the slightest change made in this country by the annexation.

The consequence of all this, naturally, was extreme dissatisfaction in both Bosnia and Herzegovina, political conditions being the same in both territories, and it is well within the facts to say that Magyar policy in Bosnia and elsewhere, from this time on, plowed and prepared the soil for the seeds of the Greater Serbia propaganda in the South Slav provinces of the empire. In fact, during the six years from the annexation up to the outbreak of the World War, the Hungarians seemed to do everything to bring about a catastrophe.

AN IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION

Even the authorities in Vienna could not obtain a true picture of affairs in these South Slav territories, for these were administered by three different Government departments, each of which kept secret from the other two its policy, its information and its intentions.

One part of the South Slav territory, comprising Carniola, Istria and Dalmatia, belonged to Austria; another part, Croatia, Slavonia and the Banat, was Hungarian State territory; while the third part, Bosnia and Herzegovina, was, as has been said, the domain of the Joint Minister of Finance, who was seated in Vienna, and was under the immediate administration of a General who ruled at Serajevo. Neither a Common Minister nor the Austrian Government itself was allowed to interfere with what Hungarians did in their own South Slav domains. The slightest attempt on the part of a Common or of a purely Austrian Minister to obtain information about that policy, or even to use influence of any kind in those affairs, was considered interference in Hungary's sovereign rights, and led immediately to violent scenes in the Budapest Parliament, to angry interpellations, to Ministerial crises, in fact, to disturbances of all kinds.

As for Austria's own South Slav administrative districts, she entrusted them to three imperial Governors, whose personal interest it was to represent conditions in

their respective provinces in the rosiest possible light.

As for Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was quite hopeless to expect that the truth might get abroad and compel the authorities to make a radical change in the system. If the Common Minister of Finance complained, in Vienna, of the increase of Greater Serbia propaganda in Bosnia, the Imperial Military Office faced him and accused him of only wishing to make difficulties for the General in Command at Serajevo; whereas, if the General in question reported an increase in the same agitation, he was confronted by the Minister of Finance, who reproached him with seeking an opportunity to obtain *carte blanche* for his own military functions in Bosnia.

Does it seem, perhaps, as if this statement is exaggerated? Indeed, things were really as I have described them, and even much worse.

Among Austrian officials there were many instances where an earnest effort was made to make the best of things within the limitations of the existing institutions. But it was these institutions themselves which prevented any good and fruitful activity; and whenever an attempt was made to improve conditions, the insurmountable opposition of these institutions brought everything to a standstill. And when I say "institutions," I mean, in most cases, the "system" which Hungary had built up since 1867, and which she was determined to perpetuate at all costs.

AUTHOR'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

My own experiences with the system I have described were such that, even now, when a terrible abyss has swallowed that system, I cannot quite overcome my indignation when thinking of it. During the last few years before the World War I went about in Vienna from one Government office to another, and to all the official places that were open to me, and stated the facts as I saw them; I deliberated with political friends, I made journeys, I collected facts, I compiled memorials; in short, I did everything I could to convince the Government that the South Slav question must be solved immediately, and that each delay in achieving such a solution brought the empire nearer to a catastrophe. Hundreds of others saw the

storm clouds rising in the south, and raised their voices in warning, but it was all in vain. Everything remained in the old grooves.

Then came the Balkan war. Serbia proved victorious and greatly enlarged her territories, and the dissatisfaction in Bosnia increased from day to day.

After the Balkan war came to an end in the Summer of 1913, I traveled once more through the South Slav provinces of the empire. The conditions that I found there threw me into a state of the greatest dismay and strengthened my opinion that a catastrophe was impending. Therefore, on Aug. 18, 1913, I addressed a memorial from Spalato to Count Frederick Szapary, then Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, stating all that I had seen, and making no secret of what I feared.

After first trying to describe the spread of the South Slav movement in these provinces, and then giving a picture of the anti-Austrian feeling which I had found in all circles, I pointed to the stupid and inefficient governmental system which was practically driving these countries into the arms of the empire's foe, that is to say, the Kingdom of Serbia. I called the Foreign Office's attention to the incontrovertible fact that there was not only no co-operation between the foreign policy and the home policy of the monarchy, and no connection between the South Slav policies of the Austrian and Hungarian Governments and that of the joint Finance Ministry as the administrator of Bosnia, but that there was not even a common basis for the policy of the Austrian Governor in Trieste and the policy of the Austrian Governor in Dalmatia!

In Trieste, I pointed out, they governed by pitting the Slovenes against the Italians; in Zara, by pitting the Italians against the Croats. In Southern Dalmatia, where Croats and Serbs lived side by side, the whole art of government still seemed to consist of playing off one Slav party against the other, in spite of the fact that, after the Balkan war, the South Slav movement became so strong that even the Catholic Croats began actually to attend the Greek Orthodox church of the Serbs!

I also pointed out that Austria-Hungary, in case of a war against any opponent, would be deprived of three non-Slav army

corps which would have to be used to put down a rising in the South Slav provinces; whereas, in case of a war against the Balkans or Russia, the empire would be unable to use three army corps recruited from the South Slav province, because they could not be depended upon in a war against Slavs. Besides this, in case of a conflict between Austria-Hungary and Russia, three or four non-Slav corps would have to be deployed along the southern frontier to guard against an attack by Serbia. Hence, in a Russian conflict, at least six or seven army corps could not possibly be dispatched to the Galician seat of war.

In short, the monarchy appeared to me to be pursuing a disastrous policy which would almost certainly precipitate it into an abyss!

THE WARNING IGNORED

This humble memorial, which is, at present, gathering dust in the State archives in Vienna, was handed over to Count Berchtold by Count Szapary, and, by order of Count Berchtold (who was still Foreign Minister when the great war began, and will, therefore, go down in history as at least partly responsible for all that followed that fatal ultimatum to Serbia), copies of the memorial were sent to both the Austrian and Hungarian Prime Ministers. Count Tisza returned no answer—which was, perhaps, characteristic; Magyar statesmen either fiercely denounce a thing or ignore it altogether! The Austrian Prime Minister, Count Sturgkh, answered, after some little time, that, as for conditions in Dalmatia, the Imperial Gov-

ernor in Zara was of the opinion that the statements in the memorial were exaggerated.

Some months later I was attached to the Foreign Office in Vienna, where I had to deal with secret service data concerning the South Slav movement. In the meantime, Count Szapary had gone to St. Petersburg as Ambassador, and Count Forgach had been nominated in his place as Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Early in 1914 Count Forgach directed me to suggest improvements in our methods of obtaining the facts of the South Slav agitation. As the propositions which I submitted, some weeks later, required not only financial support but also the political approval of both the Austrian and Hungarian Governments, Count Forgach asked me to bring the matter to the attention of both Prime Ministers, which I did.

I heard nothing further of my suggestions for some time. Then, one day, Count Forgach returned my memoranda to me, intimating that my proposals were much too far-reaching, and that the whole business was uncalled for anyway, as Count Tisza had declared to him that *there was no South Slav question at all!* Let this be remembered. In the Spring of 1914, a few months before the murder of Francis Ferdinand by a young Serbian fanatic, a few months before that Vienna Privy Council of July 7 in which the Austrian Prime Minister and the Common Minister of Finance, Dr. von Bilinski, declared that, unless a victorious war was waged against Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina would be



EX-EMPEROR CHARLES

Last of the Hapsburgs, deposed from his throne, and who has lately died, an exile with ex-Empress Zita on the Island of Madeira

lost to the empire; a few months before the fatal ultimatum to Serbia, the Hungarian Prime Minister asserted that there was no such thing as a South Slav question!

Looking back now at all the blood that has flowed under the bridges of Europe since that day (including, it may be noted, Count Tisza's own!), it seems incredible that a statesman of Tisza's experience and reputation could have made such a statement. But he did.

These facts go to show that, in the period between the Balkan war of 1913 and the tragedy at Serajevo in June, 1914, the internal process of dissolution had passed to its last throes, and that there were only two kinds of statesmen left in Austria-Hungary—those who declared that there was nothing the matter with the State (like Tisza and his Hungarians) and those who said the empire was doomed.

It was not the Greater Austrian Idea which was to blame for the anti-Serbian frenzy that raged in the empire after the outrage at Serajevo, nor was it the haughty frivolty of some statesmen and Generals thirsting for fame which plunged Austria-Hungary into the World War. The cause is much more tragic, much more deep-seated, much more the result of years of intolerant oppression and suppression.

Let us recall, briefly, what I have tried to make plain. Since the dual Constitution of 1867, the empire has been as if paralyzed. Political development in Austria becomes more and more stagnant. The awakening subject nations begin to strive after the right of self-government.

The Emperor is willing to grant these rights, but the Magyar rulers oppose and wreck this movement. The dissatisfaction in Bohemia and in the South Slav countries becomes threatening.

For a time, solutions are eagerly and

conscientiously sought. But all these attempts fail, either because the German-Magyar alliance for the maintenance of German supremacy in Austria and of Magyar supremacy in Hungary frustrates all such attempts, or because the projects themselves are undertaken with insufficient means. Finally, all such attempts are given up for good, and this one maxim remains: Preserve the monarchy in its present state as long as possible. Toward the end of the century scarcely any one believes that the empire will survive the death of Francis Joseph.

Suddenly, however, some men arise and make a stand against this pessimism. They bring to light new

ideas, and the young men receive these ideas with enthusiasm. But these reformers are only isolated men. They are vehemently opposed, and they oppose each other. They waste their strength battling against an antiquated system, against misunderstanding, against mistrust and against an adverse fate. One after the other is carried off by an untimely death. An old Emperor and the Magyar oligarchy survive them all.

The internal decay is disastrous. It is only with difficulty that the prestige of a great power is still kept up abroad. Then the Balkan war and the Peace of Bucharest tend to destroy even this.

The only strong personality left in the



(Photo R. Lechner, Vienna)

ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND
Heir apparent to the Austro-Hungarian throne, whose assassination precipitated the World War

whole empire is Count Tisza, the absolute ruler in Hungary, the most stubborn opponent of any extension of the franchise in Hungary and a passionate hater of all non-Magyar peoples, the man who was determined, under all circumstances, to uphold as strongly German supremacy in Austria as he did Magyar supremacy in Hungary. If the great war had not come when it did, there would soon have been riots in either Bosnia or Bohemia (or perhaps both), and Tisza would have suppressed these riots with Magyar and German troops; then Russia would probably have intervened.

Even if the war had turned out differently for Austria-Hungary, the empire would not have been really victorious till it had smashed dualism and had given all races the right of self-government. Austria was not conquered on that day when Count Michael Karolyi acted consistently with Magyar policies since 1867 by recalling the Hungarian troops from the Italian front, thus giving the Italians the opportunity of advancing through the gaps in the line! No; Austria was not conquered then. She was *already* conquered when she entered the war. The war only ended the tragedy.

EXTENT OF THE CATASTROPHE

As I look back upon the imperial glories of the recent past—for there were glories in Vienna not so long ago—I am reminded of that Russian who, viewing the Bolshevik chaos, exclaimed with concentrated bitterness:

"What have you done with my Russia?"

And so I, today, looking upon the wreck of a great empire, cry out:

"Oh, Hungary, what have you done with my Austria?"

To which I am compelled to add:

"Oh, Hungary, what have you done to yourself?"

For it is a new Europe that I behold, a shifting of boundaries, a rearrangement of territories, a reshuffling of races and peoples, such as would have seemed impossible to that aged monarch who now lies, peaceful and unknowing, in his bronze casket in the marble-lined Hapsburg crypt of Vienna's Capuchin Church.

And what havoc has been wrought among the great and powerful in eight

short years! The old Emperor is gone; their heir-apparent, slain, together with his wife, by a young Serbian's bullet, sleeps his last sleep in his own private chapel beside the Danube; another heir ascends the imperial throne, is dethroned, makes two feeble attempts to regain the Hungarian crown, and dies in exile on the Island of Madeira; Count Sturgkh, the Austrian Premier, dies at the hands of an Austrian political opponent; Count Berchtold dwells in semi-exile in Switzerland; even Count Tisza, that man of iron, is shot down by a Hungarian private soldier!

"Vae victis!" Woe to the vanquished! And the vanquished have indeed suffered, as a cursory glance at the list of territorial casualties will show.

Austria (as distinct from Hungary) has lost, through the Treaty of St. Germain, this imposing list of long-held lands: Bohemia, Galicia, Austrian Silesia, Moravia, Bukowina, Carniola, Southern Styria, Southern Tyrol, parts of Southern Corinthia, Trieste, Istria, Gorizia and Dalmatia.

And Hungary, the intolerant, the arrogant, the super-proud? What has she let slip from her imperious grasp? The list is no less imposing, for it includes: Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, the Burgenland, the northern districts of Hungary now known as Slovakia, the district of Pressburg, the Banat and other southern districts of Hungary and the much-disputed City of Fiume.

And Austria and Hungary together have lost Bosnia and Herzegovina!

Was ever an empire in modern times so dissected by the knives of its enemies, so torn asunder by the dogs of war?

Austrians grieve today—some of them, at any rate—over the almost pitiful shrinking of their own State territory. But what is quiet grief and untongued regret west of the Leitha River becomes, east of that boundary stream, boisterous and vocal humiliation, shame, hatred and rage! For Hungary's pride is humbled in the dust, whereas she had been accustomed to humbling other people in that same commodity.

Outside the beautiful Parliament House in Budapest stands a great equestrian statue of Count Julius Andrássy, which is doubtless intended to suggest, by its mag-

nitude and by the sculptured reliefs upon its marble base, the pre-eminent position which its subject occupies in the hearts of Hungarians. And yet this same Andrassy, by his drawing up of the dualistic legislation and by his subsequent insistence upon German-Magyar supremacy in the two halves of the empire, is the pre-eminent architect of Hungary's miseries today!

And the aristocratic Magyar ox has not yet finished grinding the corn of affliction. For even among the Simon Pure Hungarians themselves there are things brewing that Count Julius dreamt not of in his philosophy. For the Magyar magnates, those picturesquely clad nobles who have ruled so long and so autocratically, not only their subject races but even their own

people, are now face to face with an industrial revolution, and the powerful Agrarian Party in the House of Deputies openly declares it will carve up into small pieces, à la Lloyd George, those great landed estates over which the magnates can still ride for days and yet never set their horses' feet outside their own land!

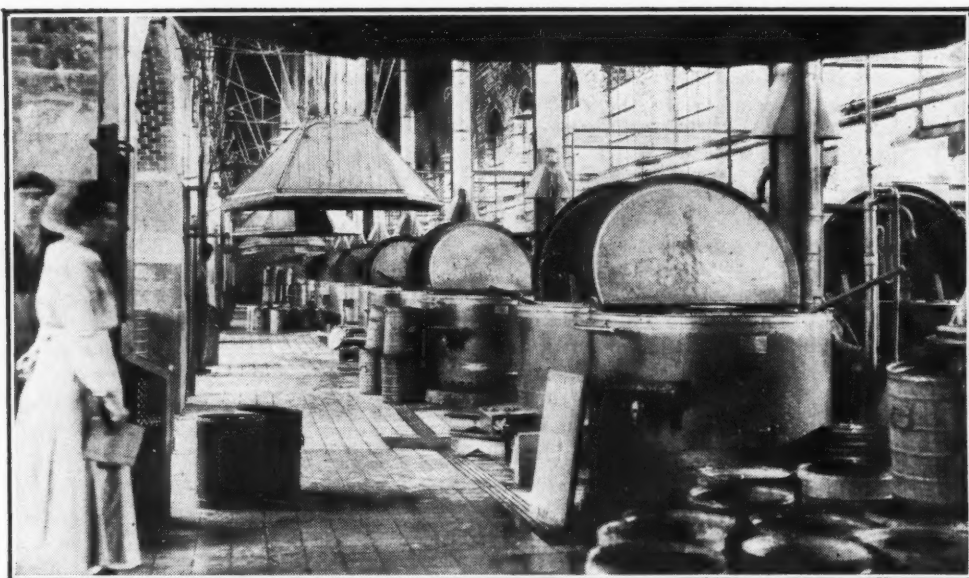
I am told that they say, in Herbert Hoover's America, when a man's sins come back to plague him, that his "chickens have come home to roost"! Of a surety, Hungary's chickens have come home to roost. Her sins against the Bohemians, the Poles, the Rumanians, the South Slavs—against all her suppressed minorities—have at last destroyed her. Verily, intolerance is the foe of empire!

EXPROPRIATING THE RUSSIAN CHURCH TREASURES

THE seizure of the treasures in Russia's churches, ordered by a recent decree of the Soviet Government, was in full swing at the beginning of April. There had been collected from ten provinces to that date some 70 pounds of gold and 17,820 pounds of silver. Up to March 13, churches in the Viatka Government had yielded about 4,500 carats of diamonds and nearly ten pounds of pearls and other jewels. M. Serafimov, Ukrainian Deputy Commissary of the Interior, reported to Premier Lenin at the end of March that the treasures of the ancient Kiev monastery (Kievo-Pechorskaya Lavra) alone, when converted into cash, would buy sufficient food to sustain the entire famine-stricken population of the Ukraine and Black Sea districts for several months. Two miters of pure gold, weighing several pounds, and studded with large diamonds, had been appraised in 1870, and declared to have a value of \$25,000,000. From six churches in the outlying districts of Moscow, requisitioning parties on Sunday, April 2, obtained 3,132 pounds of silver, a quantity of gold, and 24 diamonds. Two synagogues yielded 71 pounds of silver and 2 gold ornaments. The Soviet Government had begun, in the presence of Bishop

Antonin, to smelt the gold and silver thus confiscated. The Famine Committee had asked the Government to advance 1,000,000 gold rubles against the valuables already secured in order to purchase grain abroad without delay.

Meanwhile, the anticipated struggle of the Church against these spoliations of ecclesiastical treasure had begun in earnest and intense feeling was being manifested throughout the country. The higher dignitaries of the Church, headed by Archbishop Tikhon, Patriarch of all Russia, were urging resistance and opposing the requisitions. The Government theory is said to be that the great mass of people and the minor clergy approve these expropriations and that the higher princes of the Church are resisting for political reasons. The Bolshevik press is urging the application of counter-revolutionary penalties against these and other opposers. Posters prominently displayed declare that "every pound of Church silver means forty pounds of bread for the starving," and one poster shows the Patriarch, clad in jeweled garments and surrounded by heaps of diamonds, by the side of two starving peasants pleading for aid, while all around lie piles of dead bodies.



One of the well-equipped kitchens for relief work in Vienna. The food is cooked in great caldrons, each holding 600 liters. In the foreground stand the thermos kettles

THE MAKING OF A NEW AUSTRIA

By JACOB L. CRANE, JR.

How Austria, reduced from her former proud estate, is bravely carving out a new future—The growing land settlement movement an impressive omen of the new spirit

A FEW months ago the world was asking, "How can we keep the starving Austrians alive?" That question is being answered by the relief work of the Western nations. And now the question has become, How can this charity-case remnant of Austria keep itself alive? This is a much more difficult problem, but the new Austria is actually solving it—for the country provinces by the program of agricultural rehabilitation and for the cities, especially for Vienna, by the land settlement movement. The latter is of greater interest to us; it affects over half the population of the new State and it is unique in the reconstruction of Europe.

Three years ago, after the war had de-

pleted the man-power, and defeat had demoralized the life of Austria, the little group of allied statesmen, exerting greater influence over human destiny than had ever before been placed in a few men's hands, carved up the old Austrian empire and segregated the Austrian race within new borders which left them without support and surrounded by enemies. In spite of their value to Europe and the world and their appeal to humanitarian sympathy, these 7,000,000 people seemed doomed to die. The decline was fearfully rapid. No one could measure the rate of disintegration and death in the humble farming districts or in the mountains, although the stories of families dying out and of the

general spread of hunger and disease are gruesome enough. But for Vienna, whose population is more than one-fourth that of all Austria, we have statistics.

In 1912 about 40,000 were born in Vienna and 32,000 died; but in 1918 only 20,000 were born, while 44,000 died. At this rate of decreasing vitality and of death, Vienna would have disappeared from the maps in a few years. In 1919 and 1920 some thousands of lives were saved by the first relief work, and the birth rate increased because of the return of the soldiers, but still only 24,000 were born each year and 39,000 died, in this one-time gay and debonair city.

During these last grim years the professional and artistic classes have suffered especially. Most of them without work, with the value of their savings dwindled to literally nothing, they have watched the cost of food and clothing climb day by day until it is now more than one hundred times the pre-war level. Even for those who have work, salaries have advanced only ten to fifteen times in the face of this hundred-fold increase in the cost of keeping alive. Living standards came down to the absolute minimum even for the better classes, the health tone of the entire population was lowered, starvation began, emigration followed, until a virtual exodus from the city was threatened. Vienna was dying. And, less spectacularly, the rest of Austria was dying, too.

But in the midst of this headlong decline a powerful force entered to turn the tide. Relief work, supported in largest measure by American funds, but participated in by ten nations, has been supplying the life-saving margin of necessities to those nearest the border of starvation. A "League to Save Austria" was organized by the coordination of the relief work. Argentina, Chile, North America, Egypt, and every country in Europe, both old and new, were represented. A vast system of food distribution, sick relief and social rehabilitation was put into operation.

As the millions of relief money poured into the coffers of the central bureau, food, clothing and medicine flowed out through thousands of feeding stations and health centres. Daily a quarter of a million people, mostly children, were supplied with the necessary food and clothing to

keep them alive. One hundred and twenty-five thousand children were sent to other countries, particularly to Switzerland, to be adopted and cared for. Thousands of lives were saved and re-established; the margin of food necessary to prevent the death of Austria was provided, and utter demoralization prevented, both by the feeding and by the work of social reconstruction. This battle of the relief workers against hunger and degeneration has been fought out month by month to victory, rallying more and more of the world's support in a spectacle never seen before: 7,000,000 people saved from the results of defeat and starvation jointly by their friends and enemies.

But relief cannot go on forever. Soon the money will be exhausted, and the humanitarian impulses of the contributing peoples will be diverted to other demands. The dismembered Austria created in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles will be left to fend for herself, to develop an independent, self-supporting life for her pauperized, half starved people.

For this task of self rehabilitation there



Typical line of children in Vienna waiting at a feeding station, with ration card, cup and spoon in hand

remains, in spite of the physical and moral decline of the Austrians, an astonishing human vitality; imagination, humility, the social spirit, and the will on every hand to rebuild a system of social organization and of food production which will replace, rather than reproduce, the obscure serf life of the country and the old parasitic life of Vienna.

With the shock of the defeat and of the collapse after the war more and more distant, and with starvation at least postponed, the Austrian is realizing for the first time that this is his own country to make something out of as best he can. From this realization an intense singleness of purpose has appeared; all the will and intelligence of the country are directed, as they never were under the monarchy, to the solution of the most pressing human problems. And, under the very shadow of defeat and starvation, there is a growing current of confidence, or at least of hope for the future. This optimistic psychology, unique in the depression of Europe today, is of the utmost importance in the reconstruction of Austria.

But to accomplish this reconstruction, the vitality and energy of the people must depend upon the remaining natural resources of the country, and these resources have been sadly depleted. Most of the timber, iron, coal, oil, and many of the manufactures, have been awarded, in the division of land creating new States, to hostile peoples around Austria. The entire industrial, banking and transportation systems have been cut off from their main sources of life. For a time investigators declared that it would be impossible for Austria to support herself on the resources remaining to her.

Now, however, new iron deposits have been discovered, and a vigorous movement is on foot to develop water power on mountain streams, particularly in that most beautiful part of Europe, the Austrian Tyrol. Incidentally the exploitation of this mountain scenery for tourist travel will be another important asset in Austria's industrial recovery. On the coal that is available, iron and steel mills are already utilizing the new ore.

Plans are being developed for the reorganization and expansion of the entire industrial life of the country. In a few

years, competent students now believe, the little State will be self-supporting industrially. In the meantime, however, the city population—the factory workers, those engaged in the transportation, sale, and distribution of manufactured goods, and the professional and clerical classes—cannot earn enough to buy sufficient food at the present prices. Nor could they buy it even if their incomes were vastly greater. Although the land will soon supply food for those living on it if the relief work keeps the wolf from the door through this Winter, it cannot for a number of years furnish the city populations with food; for the agricultural rehabilitation is slow. In the meantime, the cities are faced with a period of slack work and critical scarcity of food.

In Vienna the situation has been particularly acute. For her, the former proud, parasitical, and beautiful capital of the old empire, the period between the withdrawal of the relief work and the industrial recovery had every indication of being fatal. She had lived on government, diplomacy, industry, banking and foreigners, and now that she has been demoted to the capital of a wrecked, starving Austria of 7,000,000 people, she has little left to support the old life in the old way. Heads of former government bureaus, their secretaries and clerks, the artists and professors, many former merchants and bankers, are washing windows, splitting wood, or, if they are less lucky, walking the streets between the hours for the bread line.

There is, to be sure, still a hysterical remnant of the gay life of Vienna. In this city of gaunt, undernourished millions and silent palaces, the profiteers and foreigners are spending recklessly and stupidly in hotels, cafés, and cabarets, maintained at prices 300 times as high in crowns as before the war. But not only is this vulgar boulevard life misleading as to the physical state of the people in Vienna; it also shows nothing of the spiritual renaissance which has begun there, nourished by the encouragement of the relief work, especially that of the Quakers, and by the growing atmosphere of hope and unity of purposes among the mass of people. The spirit of Vienna has changed; she would not reproduce the old life of superficial,



Former Royal Austrian Ministry of War, a vast building in Vienna, now used by relief workers from the United States and other countries

parasitic gayety even if it were possible to do so. She is ready for, and indeed has begun, her re-creation.

The land settlement movement is the most important accomplishment of this social renaissance for the Austrian cities. The food shortage gave the first impulse to this movement, but it was seconded by the dearth of houses, which has been critical for generations, but which received little attention from the powers that previously controlled destiny in Austria.

It is authoritatively stated that in spite of the decrease in the population of Vienna, half of the family dwellings in this city of magnificent palaces, parks and boulevards still consist of only one or two rooms. The overcrowding has been in a good measure responsible for the poor health, low degree of vitality, decreasing earning power and increasing helplessness of a large part of the population that kept this glittering royal city going. For a decade the more socially minned of the professional and artistic and, more recently, the artisan and laboring classes have been thinking of means to provide themselves with more houses, and decent houses, with air, sunshine and country environment.

Even before the war it had dawned upon

some thousands of Austrians that the logical solution of the housing problem lay in land settlement close to the cities. But several impulses essential to a concerted movement were lacking.

The past two years supplied those impulses. The food scarcity would again be critical when the relief work ceased. The 40,000 war gardens around Vienna, and corresponding numbers near the other foodless cities, had supplied training in garden technique to the very people now interested in better living conditions, and they formed the nucleus for garden food production on a large scale. Ideal sites for suburban settlements were available in the lands confiscated from the royal family.

The new Government encouraged the enterprise, and later on subsidized it; and the new spirit among the freed people of the cities was perfectly suited to a co-operative undertaking, such as this logically became.

THE CITY OF PEACE

The movement attained its first concrete results in Vienna, where the need was greatest and where the human material was most available. The first group of co-

operators to get a settlement community actually started was an association of war invalids. These men, unable to get work after the war, were entirely without means of support. So with the assistance of the Government, the settlement association, the Quakers, they took over a site in the magnificent forest hunting preserve of the former Empress, beyond the great palace of Schonbrunn. In September, 1920, they began the construction of a self-contained community of two thousand homes in this forest clearing. They call it the City of Peace. As much as anything I know, this name represents the mood of the former soldiers in the defeated countries, and the settlement itself illustrates, in contrast to the ugly, superficial aspect of post-war life in Vienna, the spirit which is making a new Austria.

Just a year after the work was begun I saw the cornerstone ceremony at this City of Peace. We drove out from Vienna in a relief-service car, past the austere Schonbrunn, now a public park and hospital, and entered through a gate into a cool, deep wood. We were conducted along a forest road to the settlement clearing. Here a winding row of new cottages looked across the road into the wood on one side and out over garden clearings on the other. A platform had been erected, with the cornerstone upon it. Chairs were arranged in front and here a sober-faced crowd, among them the shy little English and American Quaker women in the places of honor, listened to the speeches.

The concise, business-like chief architect outlined the advantages to health and happiness of these houses as contrasted with those of old Vienna. Muller, member of the Austrian Reichstag, huge, deep-voiced, solemn, spoke of the vision of making a new Austria out of the wreckage of the old. The project manager told how timber from the clearing had been sold to help pay initial costs, and how the old wall, which had always kept the public out of the park, had furnished the brick used in the buildings; how each member had contributed what he could in money and at least 2,000 hours of his own time to the house-building; how the men had worked after hours and the women all day to get their homes completed. The hammer was struck on the stone. Here, at the initiation

of this unique co-operative project, I felt greater vitality and a greater altruism and vision for remaking war-broken lives than I had found anywhere else in Europe.

The land settlement movement has grown tremendously, until nearly a million people are now represented in settlement associations. Three communities are under construction and many more are being planned. The two general types of community which have developed are the suburban cottage and small garden, allowing workers to continue their professional, artistic, or industrial labor in the city while producing a large part of their own food, and the small, self-supporting farm which produces its own food and a surplus to exchange with city dwellers for the other necessities of life.

The critical importance of the movement has been appreciated by the relief organizations, which realize that it is the most important means to getting Austria back on its own feet, against the fateful day when relief work ceases. The Friends, whose work in Austria surpasses that of any other organization in its direct, sympathetic way of discovering the most acute needs of the future, have supported the movement enthusiastically. A famous town-planning and housing expert from England was brought out by them to give advice on the land settlement project.

A financial expert was also consulted, who helped to devise new means for making the monetary aspect of the enterprise more secure, for it was found that the meagre funds of the co-operators were not sufficient to finance even a small part of the desired development, and that loans from friends must be solicited. A unique scheme for guaranteeing repayment of such loans has been worked out. The Federal Government and the municipality of Vienna have guaranteed the interest and sinking fund for loans made to the co-operative societies. The Government guarantees 160,000,000 kronen per year and the city 50,000,000 more. The properties themselves, the permanent value of which is vouched for by real estate and housing experts in and out of Austria, the production of the farms and of individual members of the societies and these national and municipal guarantee funds are security. Gifts will be accepted, but in place of the charity

on which Austria has survived since the war, she is now asking only for loans, on which interest will be paid.

And, in anticipation of the rehabilitation of the farms, of the development of mineral resources and water power, of the curtailment of National Government expenditures, the assistance of national loans from allied countries (the English loan, for example) and of the investment of foreign capital in the extraordinarily promising private enterprises, the land settlement movement makes self-support possible for the newly made Austria, until these other developments mature.

The value to the world of this new republican Austria is unquestionable. Its contribution to medical science, to literature and to art will be stimulated by the new life in which it is produced. In music particularly, as the crowded opera house and wonderful productions in starving Vienna bear witness, Austria's usefulness to the world will many times repay the

assistance which has been given her. As for Austria's future purposes, if there be any doubt remaining in the minds of other nations, I feel that the sentiment of the faction which will prevail if the Allies give it support, is expressed by the words of Professor Cizek: "Politically we are finished. From an empire we have dwindled to an insignificant province. We have become one of the most tremendous ruins of the world. Let us accept it. Let us give up all political ambition, but let us never forget that as we have been a beacon of culture in the past, so we should be in the future. Let us mean something to the world because of our knowledge of beauty. Let us be the most musical, the most creative of peoples. Let us give our hearts to this instead of to aggrandizement and power. So will our loss become our gain and we shall have something to give to the poor murky world which it needs more than it needs empires and armies and pomp and power."

ZION'S WORK TO DEVELOP THE JORDAN VALLEY

THE Rotenberg scheme to develop the Jordan Valley had remained unheard of since it was first explained in *The London Times* of May 18, 1921, until in the British House of Lords on March 15, 1922, the Duke of Sutherland, speaking for the Government in reply to an interpellation, explained exactly how the project was working out.

M. Pinhas Rotenberg, sponsor of the undertaking, was formerly Chief of Police under the Kerensky Government in Russia. His proposal was to construct a dam at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee as a storage reservoir for a Jordan power station to be established near the Jisr-el-Mejami, six miles down the river. It was calculated that this would yield 100,000,000 kilowatt hours per annum, which would be used for pumping, lighting, heating, industrial development and perhaps for railway electrification. An irrigation canal was to be constructed along the west side of the Jordan Valley, leading from the Galilee storage reservoir. A second and independent scheme provided for the

drainage of the Huleh marshes (the waters of Merom), the irrigation of the 50,000 acres thus made available for cultivation, and the construction of a second power station to utilize the 700-foot fall of the Jordan between Huleh and the Sea of Galilee.

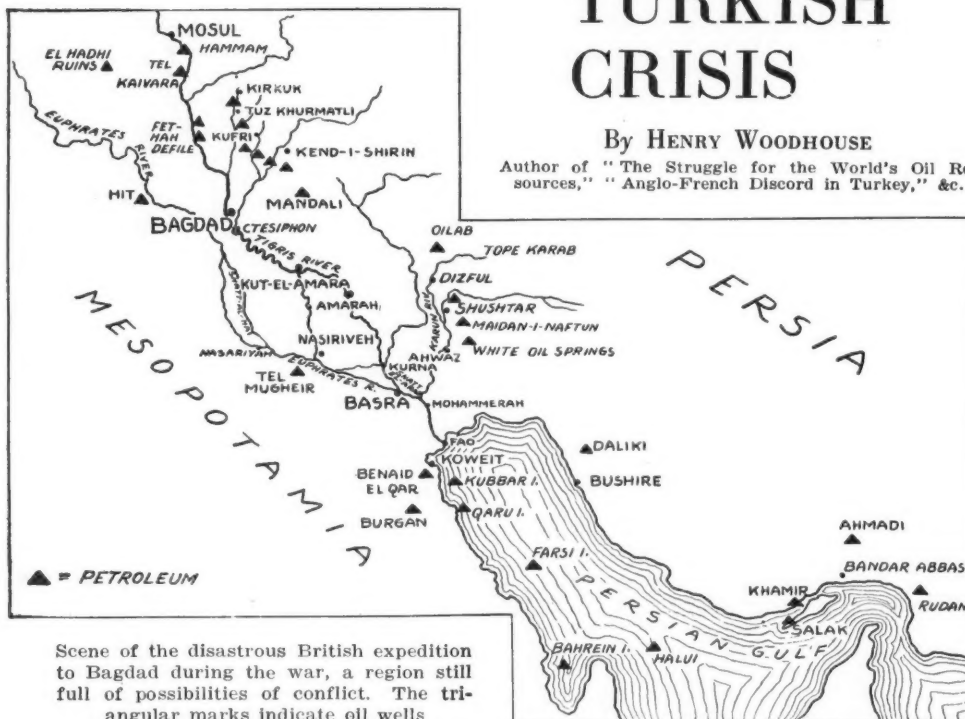
The Duke of Sutherland stated for the British Government that the Rotenberg scheme was the most substantial practical contribution so far made by Judaism to the restoration of prosperity in Palestine. The irrigation project had not been taken up, he said, but the rest of the scheme was in operation under Government control and supervision.

The Government, however, did not accept any financial responsibility for the success of the scheme. Full provision had been made to preserve the rights and interests of the owners of the land affected. Expropriation would be resorted to only if the owners attempted a veto. The Government proposed to maintain public order against all raiders or others who attempted opposition.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN-TURKISH CRISIS

By HENRY WOODHOUSE

Author of "The Struggle for the World's Oil Resources," "Anglo-French Discord in Turkey," &c.



Scene of the disastrous British expedition to Bagdad during the war, a region still full of possibilities of conflict. The triangular marks indicate oil wells

An inside history based on hitherto unpublished official correspondence between the British and Indian Governments—Why the Bagdad campaign failed—Its effect on Indian opinion—Lord Reading's startling telegram and the causes back of it

THAT the present Anglo-Indian-Turkish crisis is the direct outgrowth of a series of blunders and miscalculations on the part of the British Indian Government and of the last two British Cabinets—in connection with the Mesopotamian campaign and in dealing with the Arabs in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Arabia—is revealed by the hitherto unpublished documents presented herewith. These official documents also lay bare the origin and development of the British monopoly in the Mesopotamian oil fields, about which Mr. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, has once more addressed a protest to the British Government.

These documents, obtained from British official sources, include correspondence between the British Home Government, the India Office in London and the Indian Government at Delhi and Simla; military orders directing the invasion of Turkish and Persian territory six weeks before Turkey's entry into the war, and subsequent movements of the Indian expeditionary forces in Turkey; also documents revealing the factors that caused the Arabs to turn against the British in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. These official papers locate the responsibility for the instructions that led to the military disasters at Kut-el-Amara and Ctesiphon and other points in Mesopotamia, involving the deaths of tens

of thousands of native Indian troops. Those disasters started the Parliamentary investigations that culminated in the resignation of the Right Hon. Joseph Austen Chamberlain as Secretary of State for India and in the rise of Lloyd George; they are the underlying cause of the present Anglo-Indian-Turkish crisis and of the decision of Mr. Lloyd George and M. Poincaré to call the Near East conference in Paris on March 22, in an attempt to settle the Near East problem before the opening of the Genoa Conference.

These documents tear down the iron curtain of censorship that has screened Eastern affairs for the last eight years and reveal the policies, actions and mistakes that are responsible for creating conditions in the East such as have not existed for centuries—conditions startling to those who have believed that the war brought Turkey and the Moslem world more under European control. The opposite is true. Freed of the fear of invasion and concerted action by the naval and land forces of Russia, Germany and Austria and supported by commercial treaties and agreements entered into with France and Italy, and especially with the Russian Soviet Government, Turkey has never before been so

free and so dominant over her own territory.

For the first time, the Turks now enjoy the unreserved support of the Arab population, not only in Turkey but also in Egypt and India. The control of Turkey by the Allies, in actual fact, is only nominal. The British hold Constantinople, but the Turkish capital is entirely isolated from the rest of Turkey by the Turkish Nationalist armies of Mustapha Kemal, and the real ruling power is exerted at Angora by the National Assembly. Mustapha Kemal is looked upon as the Turkish Washington who will restore Turkey to the Turks. Constantinople, meanwhile, gets no revenues from the rest of Turkey and is under the necessity of caring for hundreds of thousands of refugees, who represent a heavy burden to the Allies.

Smyrna and part of Anatolia are controlled by the Greek armies, but the British are no longer able to support the Greeks in their campaign against Mustapha Kemal, and the Turkish Nationalist forces facing the Greeks have recently been increased by approximately 100,000 soldiers released from Cilicia by the signing of the Franco-Turkish Treaty. Tens of thousands of Greeks have left Cilicia and taken



Typical group of refugees at Constantinople, the Turkish capital, which is crowded with unfortunates from Asia Minor and from Russia

refuge in Smyrna and other territory occupied by the Greeks, thus increasing Greece's heavy burden. The release of this large number of Turkish soldiers has also increased the burden on the British in Mesopotamia and elsewhere and separated the British from the Greeks by a large stretch of country entirely under the control of the Angora Government.

Mesopotamia, which has been more or less under British control since 1914 and which is now supposed to be governed by Emir Feisal, King of Irak, is in a general state of upheaval and is prevented from general insurrection only by the force of British arms and the constant patrolling of British airplanes equipped with guns and bombs. Persia has denounced the Anglo-Persian Treaty and proclaimed its independence. Powerful British forces in Mesopotamia are required to protect the British oil operations in both Mesopotamia and Persia. Palestine has been in a constant state of disorder, caused by Arab uprisings. This, in brief, is the situation in the Near East that has contributed to bring about the present Anglo-Indian-Turkish crisis and to cause the caldron of Indian politics to boil over.

The Indian Government and the India Office blame the British Cabinet for these conditions, and Great Britain's allies blame British policies for the situation. Lord Curzon and Greece blame France for seceding from the Tripartite Agreement and the Sevres Treaty, but this discord among the Allies is all blamed on British foreign policies, and the responsibility for these policies is attributed to a few individuals in the British Cabinet.

The documents to follow will clear up to a great extent the question of responsibility. It has been charged by Mr. Chamberlain's opponents of late that he has used the power of his present office as Lord of the Privy Seal and leader of the House of Commons—posts which give him a ranking next only to Lloyd George himself—as well as his previous position as member of the War Cabinet, to prevent the truth regarding the origin of the present Indian troubles from becoming known. However true this may be, the evidence contained in these documents is rather favorable to Mr. Chamberlain. Though the disastrous Mesopotamian policies were

adopted during his term of office as Secretary of State for India, the documents show that he acted by authority of the Cabinet, and that he promptly and earnestly sought to prevent the "medical debacle" that followed the disastrous campaigns of 1915 and 1916.

The control of Mesopotamian policies and operations, however, was removed from the India Government and given to the War Office at about the time of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation as Indian Secretary. Thereafter, as member of the War Cabinet, he had the say on Mesopotamian affairs, and was thus the one member of the Lloyd George Cabinet who had most influence on the policies that have resulted in the latest Anglo-Indian-Turkish crisis. This makes it especially interesting to see exactly what connection he has had with the factors that are responsible for this crisis. The connection is shown clearly by the documents given herewith, which also explain why the British were and are now forced to retain an army of about 100,000 men and a powerful air force in Mesopotamia under war conditions, with continuous fighting, throughout the years 1919, 1920 and 1921, and why Mesopotamia is still in a state of war.

THE INVASION OF MESOPOTAMIA

The orders to the British-Indian troops to invade Mesopotamia in September, 1914, before Turkey's entry into the war, and the subsequent orders to advance, emanated from the Home Government in London, and were transmitted to the Indian Government by the Secretaries of State for India, who have been successively Lord Crewe, Austen Chamberlain and Lord Montagu, recently resigned. The records show that the orders were executed with misgivings by India's Government, which protested on a number of occasions against the drafting of such large numbers of Indian troops and the heavy loss of lives and attending expenditures, all of which disturbed the Moslem world. The Home Government in London, however, disregarded the warnings of the Viceroy and of the Indian Government, and disaster after disaster followed the attempts of the British-Indian forces to carry out the orders of the Home Government.

The first military order to British

troops to invade Turkey was issued at the end of September, 1914, about six weeks after Austria had declared war on Serbia and six weeks before Turkey declared war on the Allies, which took place on Oct. 30. In this military order and the instructions transmitted to Major Gen. Walter Sinclair Delamain of the Indian Army, commanding the Indian Expeditionary Force "D," permission was given to take hostile action against the Turks in case of "absolute military necessity" while the British forces were occupying Turkish and Persian territory, Abadan Island and Basra and lower Mesopotamia; to control navigation and commerce of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and the Shatt-el-Arab to the Persian Gulf, for the stated purpose of "protecting the oil refineries, tanks and pipe lines."

TEXT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

This historic order, proving that Great Britain took the initiative against Turkey and Persia, and thus contributed to precipitating Turkey's entry into the World War on the German side—an event which caused a general upset in the Near East and Asia—read in part as follows:

For the Officer Commanding I. E. F. "D":

1. The role assigned to your force is that of demonstrating at the head of the Persian Gulf. You will bear in mind that Great Britain is at peace with Turkey and that you are therefore on no account to land troops in Turkish territory or to take any hostile action against the Turks without orders from the Government of India, except in the case of absolute military necessity.

2. You will occupy Abadan Island with the object of:

- (a) Protecting the oil refineries, tanks and pipe lines.
- (b) Covering the landing of reinforcements, should these be required.
- (c) Assuring the local Arabs of our support against Turkey.

3. With these objects, you may disembark the whole or such part of your force as you consider necessary at Abadan Island or Muhammerah, preferably at Abadan. In deciding on the point of disembarkation, however, you will work in concert with the naval and political authorities.

4. In your dealings with the Arabs in Persian or Turkish territory, you should be careful to avoid any action which is likely to cause friction with them, as their co-operation may be required in the event of a rupture with Turkey.

Communication will be opened with Bin Saud, Sheik (Amir) of Najd; the Sheik of Muhammerah, and the Sheik of Koweit, with the object of informing them of the dispatch of your force.

5. You will notify the arrival of the force off Baden Island, and thereafter the progress of the disembarkation to the Chief of the General Staff, Simla.

6. The destination of your force is being communicated to the following only:

Naval Commander-in-Chief,
Resident, Bagdad,
Consul, Basra,
The three chiefs above mentioned,
Major Smyth,
Political officer with your force (Sir P. Cox).

7. In the event of hostilities with Turkey, the remainder of the 6th (Poona) Division is being held in readiness to support your force, and will follow as quickly as possible.

In the meantime you will take such military and political action as you think feasible to strengthen your position, and, if possible, occupy Basra.

This order was based on an academic plan of action entitled "The Role of India in a Turkish War" prepared by General Sir Edmund George Barrow, Military Secretary at the India Office, in which he proposed the occupation of Basra, and concluded with the following remarks:

This seems the psychological moment to take action. So unexpected a stroke at this moment would have a startling effect.

1. It would checkmate Turkish intrigues and demonstrate our ability to strike.

2. It would encourage the Arabs to rally to us and confirm the Sheiks of Muhammerah and Koweit in their allegiance.

3. It would safeguard Egypt, and without Arab support a Turkish invasion is impossible.

4. It would effectually protect the oil installation at Abadan.

Such results seem to justify fully the proposed action.

THE OCCUPATION OF BASRA

Basra is the principal port of Mesopotamia on the Shatt-el-Arab ("Shatt" means river in Arabic) at the conjunction of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. To occupy it was a violation of Turkey's sovereignty. Indian Expeditionary Force "D," the fourth supplied by India in the few months of war, started from Bombay under sealed orders, and landed at Bahrein Island, in the Persian Gulf, on Oct. 23. On Nov. 14 it was reinforced by two brigades under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Barrett, and on Nov. 22, 1914, Basra was occupied.

The documents show that the Indian Government had already supplied three expeditionary forces. The first, known as Expedition "A," was sent for action in

France and Egypt; the second and third, Expeditions "B" and "C," to East Africa. When the instructions to organize the fourth expedition arrived, the Indian Government had misgivings that it would lead to extensive operations with large demands upon India, and asked the Home Government to state its plans and intents, saying in part:

It is assumed you are satisfied the advanced brigade is sufficiently strong for the purpose required, but, as we are unaware of its instructions and objective, we cannot judge of this.

Is it your opinion that the expedition should be managed direct by the India Office, or do you desire it to be run by us?

Under date of Oct. 5, 1914, the British Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe, telegraphed from London to the Indian Government, stating that:

The intention is to occupy Abadan, with the force under orders to protect the oil tanks and pipe line, cover the landing of reinforcements, in the event of such being necessary, and show the Arabs that our intention is to support them against the Turks. With a warship at Muhammerah, the troops detailed are considered ample for the purposes mentioned. In the event of Turkey becoming a belligerent, the management of the expedition will devolve on you, but I will, of course, communicate with you regarding the scope of the operations. In the meanwhile you should make preparations for the dispatch of the remainder of the division.

As haste was predicated, it was decided to rush to Mesopotamia a part of Expedition "A," which was ready to sail for France.

THE ARAB IMBROGLIO

While the British were planning the landing of troops on Turkish soil and arranging to seize Basra, the principal Mesopotamian port seventy miles up the Shatt-el-Arab, at the head of the Persian Gulf, the British political agent, Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, First High Commissioner of Egypt under the British protectorate, and Sir Percy Cox, British political officer, were offering inducements to the Arab chiefs to cast off Turkish rule.

The Grand Sherif of Mecca, Hussein Ibn Ali, nominated Grand Sherif by the Sublime Porte in 1908, was promised independence and support to establish a kingdom in return for exerting his influence to prevent the Arabs from undertaking a holy war against the British. Only the Grand

Sherif can proclaim a holy war. The course of events, however, proved that the Grand Sherif could not prevent the Arabs from warring on the Anglo-Indian troops in Mesopotamia and elsewhere.

Under date of Oct. 23, 1914, Sir McMahon entered into an agreement with Emir Hussein Ibn Ali, reading in part as follows:

The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the proposed limits of boundaries. With the above modifications, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept these limits of boundaries, and in regard to those portions of the territories therein in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally, France, I am empowered, in the name of the Government of Great Britain, to give the following assurance and make the following reply to your letter:

"Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within territories included in the limits of boundaries proposed by the Sherif of Mecca."

In this way the British proceeded in the early part of the war to undermine the Turk in Hejaz, the principal section of Arabia, which extends from Akaba, about 150 miles from Suez, in the north, about six hundred miles along the shore of the Red Sea, including Medina and Mecca, the two holy places of the Moslem world, to Asir, in the south.

The Arabs of Hejaz were promised autonomy in the event that the revolt was successful. Emir Hussein Ibn Ali proclaimed his independence on June 5, 1916, and assumed the title of King of Hejaz in November, 1916, under a secret treaty with the British, whereby he was promised support and subsidy in return for letting the British govern Hejaz. He was recognized as King of Hejaz under the Sèvres Treaty, and has been favored by the British in many ways. His son Feisal was later, on Aug. 28, 1920, made King of Irak (Mesopotamia), and another son, Abdullah, was made Emir of Kerak. But the Arab population refused to accept these and other similar arrangements, and have been fighting the British-Indian troops ever since.

The "oil refineries, tanks and pipe lines" referred to in the order to General Delamain were the properties of the Anglo-

Persian Oil Company in Persia. The pipe line ran along the Karun River to the Persian side of the Shatt-el-Arab, connecting with Abadan Island.

PROTECTION FOR BRITISH OIL

This British action in occupying Mesopotamian territory for the stated purpose of protecting her pipe line in Persia alarmed the Arabs. Some of the Emirs, it is true, accepted the British offers at their face value, but the Arab population promptly revolted. The subsidizing of Emir Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, had less effect on the Arabs than was expected. The Arabs opposed every British move in Mesopotamia, have done so for eight years, and are still doing so today, and the British are forced to keep a large army there.

Though there are many oil and asphalt deposits in lower Mesopotamia, the official maps of the British Admiralty War Staff show that the rich Mesopotamian oil fields are up the Tigris Valley, between Bagdad and Mosul, and between Kirkuk and the Persian Gulf. Encouraged by the little resistance encountered on the way to Basra, and by the success of the British political agents in convincing some of the Arab chiefs to shake off the Turkish rule, the Home Government in London ordered the troops to advance toward these great Mesopotamian oil fields, which are now the subject of the United States notes to Great Britain, as these oil fields are covered by the broad claims of Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, U. S. N., retired, and his associates, who negotiated an extensive concession in Turkey from 1898 to 1910.

THE ORDERS TO ADVANCE

The second significant military order defining the British aims and proposing the fatal plan to advance on Bagdad was given by General Sir Beauchamp Duff, Commander-in-Chief in India, to General J. E. Nixon, who was appointed commander of the army corps, on March 24, 1915, when General Nixon left India to command the Mesopotamian expedition. This military order read in part as follows:

1. Indian Expeditionary Force "D," now operating in Mesopotamia under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. A. Barrett, K. C. B., K. C. V. O., has been reinforced and raised to an army

corps command, the details and organization of which are shown in a proof copy of Organization Orders, Force "D," attached.

2. You will proceed to Basra, and take over command of I. E. F. "D" from Lieut. Gen. Sir A. A. Barrett, who will retain command of the 6th Division.

3. Please report by wire, both to the Chief of the General Staff, Simla, and to the Secretary of State for India, the date on which you take over the command.

4. You will render a daily report of your operations to the Secretary of State and to the Chief of the General Staff, Army Headquarters, Simla.

5. Sir Percy Cox, who is now with Lieut. Gen. Sir A. A. Barrett as Political Officer, will come under your orders.

6. Instructions as to the operations of your force are in a separate document.

OPERATIONS

1. Your force is intended to retain complete control of the lower portion of Mesopotamia, comprising the Basra vilayet and including all outlets to the sea and such portions of the neighboring territories as may affect your operations.

2. So far as you may find feasible, without prejudicing your main operations, you should endeavor to secure the safety of the oil fields, pipe line and refineries of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

3. After acquainting yourself on the spot with the present situation you will submit:

- (a) A plan for the effective occupation of Basra vilayet:
- (b) A plan for a subsequent advance on Bagdad.

4. In all operations you will respect the neutrality of Persia so far as military and political exigencies permit.

REPORTS ON SPECIAL POINTS

The following points are to be especially reported upon by you, after examination of the conditions in Mesopotamia:

- (a) The advisability of reinforcing the 6th Cavalry Brigade by one regiment of Imperial Service Cavalry, which could be utilized for guarding the oil pipe line.
- (b) The quantity and description of animal transport required for Force "D" in the operations contemplated.
- (c) The employment of a light railway, of which 137 miles of track, 20 locomotives, 240 trucks, 23 brake vans and 2 traction engines are reported available and in good condition.
- (d) The employment of armored motors and mechanical transport.
- (e) Aircraft.
- (f) The adequacy and suitability of the river gunboats and transports en route, namely: Two Nile gunboats, armament not yet known.

Seven paddlers from the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, with two flats from Eastern Bengal State Railway.

Two motor boats.

Four tugs.

Four steam launches, two steam cutters and two horse boats, understood to be coming from Egypt.

This order changed the aspect of the British policy, which, as expressed by the first order, was to occupy Basra and to control navigation on the Tigris, Euphrates and El-Arab Rivers, for the stated purpose of protecting the pipe lines, oil tanks and refineries on Abadan Island. The British troops were now ordered to advance to Bagdad, and to "respect the neutrality of Persia" only "so far as military and political exigencies permit."

This order, the first to propose the 500 miles advance to Bagdad, which proved so disastrous, has already cost the British and Indian taxpayers hundreds of millions of pounds and over 100,000 lives, and is responsible, more than anything else, for the present Anglo-Indian-Turkish crisis. As a matter of fact, today Great Britain has nothing to show for her Mesopotamian campaign except a huge budget of expenditures and a ghastly record of human suffering through lack of proper medical attendance and hygienic arrangements; tens of thousands of human lives were lost in the midst of such conditions. Great Britain did finally acquire the oil fields in the middle Tigris belt, the Euphrates belt and the belt between Kirkuk and the Persian Gulf, but she is forced to keep about one hundred thousand troops under war conditions in Mesopotamia today to prevent being ejected from the country by the Arabs.

ARABS RESENT INVASION

These two military operations caused the Arab uprising. They violated the Anglo-Turkish agreements, which provided for equal rights to navigation on the Shatt-el-Arab to the nationals of all nations, and disregarded Arab jurisdiction over that river. This last proved to be a grave mistake. The Arabs, like the Turks, Indians and Persians, have not objected to peaceful penetration and exploitation, as represented by railroad construction and operation, monopoly of rivers and commercial transportation, exploitation of minerals by European countries, &c. They are individualistic, and usually only resent

interference with personal rights and freedom, except when military occupation of their territory and restriction of navigation and forceful detention of their property or their people are involved, or when their holy places are in danger. Then the Arabs fight collectively and they join issue against the common enemy.

It is doubtful whether the Arabs want Turkish rule, but there is no doubt that they do not want European or any non-Moslem rule, though they will permit European exploitation of oil and other national resources. Nor do they—the different Arab tribes—want rule by other tribes than their own. They have always fought, and on the whole successfully prevented, any kind of rule except of their own selection. This is one basic reason why the Arabs of Mesopotamia will not accept the British-appointed Emir Feisal as their King. The other reason is that with King Feisal are thousands of British troops occupying Arab land and that tens of thousands of Arabs have been drafted by the British and compelled to work under British military supervision.

The Shatt-el-Arab, the waterway that marks the boundary between Turkey and Persia, was recognized as being *de jure* within Turkish limits by agreement between Turkey and Persia and by the protocol signed Nov. 17, 1913, prepared by the Boundary Commission, on which Great Britain and Russia were represented.

The Arab Sheik of Muhammerah had always exercised a *de facto* jurisdiction over this river, which, under the Anglo-Turkish Convention signed at London on July 29, 1913, was to remain open to the vessels of all nations on equal terms, no fees being levied for navigation. With the occupation of Basra, the main Mesopotamian port, on Nov. 22, 1914, the British assumed control and monopolized navigation between the Persian Gulf and the Shatt-el-Arab and up the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. This action was resented by the Arabs throughout Mesopotamia, over one million of whom lived mainly along these waterways and along tributary rivers and canals. It was also resented by the Persians, and removed the hostile feeling that had existed between the Persians and the Mesopotamian Arabs over the question of boundaries for years past. It was a

monumental blunder, though it is apparent from the references to the Sheiks of Muhammerah, Koweit and Najd that the British relied greatly on the power of the Arab chiefs, which proved to be less than was anticipated. When the British-Indian troops occupying Basra were ordered to advance on Bagdad the Arabs rose against them and barred the way.

INDIA REFUSES NEW FORCES

Another order that had considerable influence in precipitating the advance against the Turks was a hasty message from the Home Government in London, dated April 19, 1915, expressing great concern over the safety of the oil properties and urging immediate action against the Turks. General Sir John Nixon then requested another cavalry brigade. Both the Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, and the Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Crewe, regretted the impossibility of supplying this additional cavalry brigade. Under date of April 24, 1915, the Secretary of State for India transmitted the following additional instructions:

Your decision in connection with Nixon's request for a brigade of cavalry is concurred in. To say nothing of the impossibility of complying with his request, the approach of the hot season renders it undesirable to dispatch any more troops, especially British.

An important offensive movement is indicated by Nixon's demand. Any advance beyond the present theatre of operations will not be sanctioned by Government at this moment, and I presume Nixon clearly understands this. During the Summer we must confine ourselves to the defense of oil interests in Arabistan and the Basra vilayet.

If an advance to Amara with a view to establishing an outpost for the purpose of controlling tribesmen between there and Karun, thus adding to the security of the pipe line, is possible after smashing the enemy in the direction of Karun, I should, if such a proposal received your support, be prepared to sanction it. Any proposal involving possible demands for reinforcements or undue extension is to be deprecated, however.

Our present position is strategically a sound one, and we cannot at present afford to take risks by extending it unduly. In Mesopotamia a safe game must be played.

BAGDAD ADVANCE DISASTROUS

Carrying out these instructions involved the occupation of territory within a few miles of Kut-el-Amara, the Basra vilayet extending to that point, and was really be-

yond the physical possibilities of General Nixon's forces, but it was undertaken—with success at first because the Turkish reinforcements were delayed by floods. But disasters followed.

The documents and telegrams between the Home Government in London and the Indian Government show that the plan to advance on Bagdad was proposed and pushed constantly by Sir Percy Cox, the political agent attached to the Mesopotamian expedition. It was represented that little resistance would be encountered in the 500 miles' advance from Basra to Bagdad by way of Kurna, Amara, Kut and Ctesiphon. The reports of the heavy opposition and casualties suffered in the battle of Sahill, on Nov. 17, 1914, and the attending suffering from malaria, scurvy, lack of sufficient transports, lack of facilities for attending the wounded, and general lack of medical and sanitary equipment, had been withheld from the Home Government and hidden under the glory of apparent military victories, and the new advances were proposed and undertaken without proper equipment and without rectification of the previous mistakes.

These difficulties and deficiencies increased on the advance to Kurna, Amara and Kut-el-Amara, but were again covered by the brilliant exploits of General Townshend, whose troops occupied Kut on Sept. 28, 1915. Six weeks later, however, General Townshend's forces, about 11,000 effectives, advanced to Ctesiphon and were severely defeated, suffering 690 killed and 3,800 wounded, a loss of over 30 per cent. They fell back on Kut-el-Amara on Dec. 3, exhausted, with their wounded—to find that there were only two hospital ships and insufficient medical supplies and medical arrangements. The wounded were hastily loaded on these ships and on cattle barges that had not been cleaned since the cattle and horses had been unloaded. In these awful conditions they suffered for thirteen days, many of them lying on the bare deck of the boats and barges, "swept at night by a wind that dropped nearly to zero, without any protection against cold, save their clothes and country blankets." I am quoting an official, suppressed report.

Here took place the next monumental blunder. From the Home Government in

London and the Indian Government at Simla came approval of a plan to have General Townshend hold Kut-el-Amara. The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain was the Secretary of State for India then, having taken office on May 28, 1915, succeeding Lord Crewe, who had left the India Office the day before. At first Mr. Chamberlain was conservative and opposed advancing. Then, on Oct. 5, 1915, he telegraphed to the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, as follows:

The position was reported yesterday to the Cabinet, and they have decided to appoint a committee of Foreign Office, General Staff, Admiralty and India Office [officials] to consider in all its possibilities the policy of an advance on Bagdad.

If forces available are sufficient to take and hold the place, political reasons were thought to make occupation desirable. * * * It is thought by Barrow that we might be able to capture Bagdad, but that forces weakened by further losses would be insufficient both to hold it securely against counter-attacks and to maintain communication. Kitchener can hold out no hope of reinforcements from Europe or Egypt.

Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, answered in a telegram reading as follows:

The following is the present situation: With the forces at his disposal General Nixon could, without much difficulty, capture Bagdad, and at the same time take or destroy the Turkish steamers and other boats, thus practically preventing any further attacks down stream. But without himself being reinforced by one division of troops, he could not remain there exposed to attack by Turkish reinforcements from Mosul or Aleppo. To advance to Bagdad and to retire later, under pressure from the Turks, would be a grave error. Consequently, Nixon must remain at Kut-el-Amara unless it be possible to reinforce him from elsewhere other than from India.

Under date of Oct. 8 the India Secretary telegraphed to the Viceroy as follows:

Private. The Cabinet are so impressed with the great political and military advantages of occupation of Bagdad that every effort will be made by us to supply the force that is necessary. We do not wish to attempt it with insufficient forces. I shall be glad to know whether you are satisfied that one division will suffice.

General Nixon was also asked by Chamberlain what reinforcements he considered necessary for the capture of Bagdad, and he answered that he did not require additional forces to beat Nur-ed-din and occupy Bagdad, but would require an additional division and one cavalry regiment to enable him to occupy that city permanently.

BAGDAD ADVANCE STILL URGED

A number of other telegrams were exchanged which revealed great anxiety on the part of the Cabinet, in London, to have Bagdad occupied, but which reiterated that the Home Government could not supply reinforcements from elsewhere and persistently inquired whether they could not be supplied by India. The answer was rigidly negative. For instance, under date of Oct. 15, and in continuation of a private telegram sent the day before, the India Secretary telegraphed the Viceroy as follows:

Private. Advance on Bagdad. If report of the General Staff is favorable to occupation of Bagdad, the War Office contemplate transfer of the two Indian infantry divisions from France to Egypt with the intention of placing them at your disposal for Mesopotamia.

But they cannot guarantee date of departure, owing to uncertainty of position in Near East and possible need of transport for other purposes. They do not consider it would be safe under the circumstances for Nixon to advance to Bagdad before these troops have actually started from Egypt, unless you can undertake to supply him temporarily with a division from India in the event of these reinforcements being unavoidably delayed. I request early reply as to the possibility of your undertaking the liability.

The Viceroy answered as follows:

After consultation with the Commander-in-Chief, we agree that in no case could I undertake to supply from India, even temporarily, a further force of the strength of a division.

Additional messages were exchanged. Then, on Oct. 21, the India Secretary, Chamberlain, telegraphed to the Viceroy as follows:

Private. Bagdad advance. Report of combined staffs estimates that General Nixon has only some 9,000 Turkish troops and some irregulars to deal with for the next two months; that the Turkish forces may be somewhat increased by the end of the year, and might conceivably reach a total of 60,000 by the end of January, and even larger figures during 1916.

They consider that if reinforced by two Indian divisions from France, General Nixon might, with the assistance of the river flotilla, face risk of attack by 60,000, but there would remain the possibility of enemy receiving at later date further reinforcements. The staffs hold, therefore, that from a military point of view it would be unwise to occupy Bagdad unless military authorities have power to withdraw troops at once, without regard to political considerations, if military exigencies make this necessary.

The War Office would give the two Indian divisions, but could not under any circumstances

spare further reinforcements, and are doubtful of their capacity even to supply drafts if wastage [ensues] from casualties or sickness. They think Bagdad can be easily taken and held for some time, but it might become untenable later, as explained above.

At the present moment it seems the German attempt to break through to Constantinople will succeed, and our position and prospects in Gallipoli are most uncertain. * * * Arabs are wavering, and will probably join Turks, unless we can offer them great inducements. We are therefore in great need of striking success in the East. * * *

It is suggested that we should occupy Bagdad, giving assurances to Arab leaders that we favor the creation of an Arab State independent of Turks. * * * Unless you consider possibility of eventual withdrawal is decisive against the advance, all other considerations seem to us to render it desirable, and we are prepared to order it.

INDIAN VICEROY CONVINCED

On Oct. 23 the Viceroy replied as follows:

Private. Your private telegram of the 21st instant. Bagdad advance. Your description of the situation in the Near East proves conclusively the necessity for action in the Middle East. We accept the calculation of the combined staffs of possible strength of Turks that may with time be brought against us; but with reinforcement of two Indian divisions from France, we believe that Sir John Nixon has a fair prospect of being able to hold his own against 60,000 or 70,000 Turks, provided he occupies Bagdad as soon as he is ready.

Although I realize that the occupation of Bagdad is a provocation that will probably determine the Turks to send large forces to attack us, which, however, will not be easy for them to do, and although the bad effect of a possible withdrawal in the future cannot be ignored, I am confident the right policy at the present time is to take the risk and to occupy Bagdad with the least possible delay, relying upon you to send two divisions from France as quickly as possible to Mesopotamia. On this understanding, I propose, unless I hear from you before Monday to the contrary, to order Nixon to march on Bagdad at once.

The final authorization to march on Bagdad came from Mr. Chamberlain in a telegram from the London India Office dated Oct. 23, and read as follows:

If Nixon is satisfied that the force he has available is sufficient for the operation, he may march on Bagdad. Two divisions will be sent to him as soon as possible, but owing to relief and transport arrangements, reinforcements will take time to dispatch. Probable date will be wired later.

These documents are of special interest at present in view of the attacks recently

made on Mr. Chamberlain regarding his connections with the conditions that have brought about the India crisis, and clarify the present India muddle sufficiently to reveal that Mr. Chamberlain acted under instructions from the Cabinet. The Cabinet itself acted on advice from a special inter-departmental committee, of which Sir Thomas Holderness, Under Secretary of State for India, was Chairman and the following were members:

Sir Edmund Barrow, Military Secretary, India Office.
Vice Admiral Sir Douglas Gamble, Admiralty.
Sir Louis Mallet, Foreign Office.
Mr. Launcelot Oliphant, Foreign Office.
Colonel Talbot, War Office.
Captain Paddon, War Office.

It was found subsequently that this committee did not quite grasp the actual Mesopotamian, Turkish and Indian situation, and that the Home Government, the India Office, the Viceroy, General Nixon and other officials took a great deal for granted.

SOME OF THE BLUNDERS

The documents show that among the mistakes made were the following:

1. It was assumed that General Townshend's troops were in a condition to undertake such an extensive operation, when, as a matter of fact, they were not, as shown by the letter, dated Nov. 2, in which General Townshend wrote to the Viceroy as follows:

"These troops of mine are tired and their tails are not up, but slightly down; the Mohammedans are not pleased at approaching the sacred precincts of Suliman Pak at Ctesiphon, the troops are not confident and have had enough; as it is now, the British soldier and the Sepoy, as the Roman soldier did under Belisarius, look over their shoulders and are fearful of the distance from the sea, and go down, in consequence, with every imaginable disease."

2. It was assumed that the Turks could not send substantial reinforcements to Bagdad, while the truth was that the Turks were in a position to send 30,000 soldiers, trained under Marshal von der Goltz, and well disciplined and efficiently armed and equipped for service.

3. The telegram of Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy, dated Oct. 21, reproduced above, was not transmitted to Mesopotamia, and thus the commanding officers there did not know of the possibilities of a large Turkish concentration in Bagdad.

4. The Arabs' hostile feeling on account of the invasion of their territory was overlooked, and undue reliance was placed on possible support from the Arabs, who turned out to be very hostile instead of friendly.

Disaster followed disaster. General Townshend was forced to surrender to the Turks, and one of the official, heretofore unpublished, reports states that "During the efforts to relieve the garrison at Kut, the casualties to Indian troops amounted to nearly 20,000."

THE MEDICAL DEBACLE

Then followed what has been characterized as the "medical debacle" by the commission appointed by Parliament to investigate the flood of charges against the horrible conditions that prevailed. Owing to the lack of adequate hospital facilities, there being accommodations for only 500 to meet the first 4,000 wounded, and the shortage of medical provisions and medical personnel, the wounded and the sick could not be given attention. Hundreds perished under awful conditions. Unsuitable rations caused scurvy among the Indian troops.

These official documents, supported by the reports made to Parliament by a special commission, show that these conditions were disregarded and their existence actually denied. As a result, they continued, and during the last six months of 1916 there were 11,445 cases of scurvy in a force of 124,250 Indian troops and 104 cases of beri-beri among the 57,000 British troops. The deaths from scurvy and the high death rate from other disease and from unattended wounds and actual field casualties decimated the Indian troops and started a wave of unrest in India that grew as the years went on, and more and more Indians were drafted for service in Mesopotamia. Protests against permitting such wholesale horrors came in floods from the people of India, from the British public, from Parliament, from the Dominion and from the colonies. For a time it was denied that such conditions existed; then two investigations were ordered and the facts were brought out.

These charges were upsetting the peace of the Moslem world. Something had to be done. Finally, in March, 1916, the Indian Government sent the Vincent-Bingley Commission to investigate. This commission reported to the Simla Government on June 29, 1916, but the report was pigeonholed. Nor did any improvement of conditions take place.

Then Parliament appointed a new commission; the facts were made known to the Home Government and to the leaders, and as a result of the findings of this commission and the findings in the investigation of the munition scandals the British Government was upset and Lloyd George became Prime Minister.

Mr. Chamberlain's part in the medical disaster, as shown by the official correspondence, was as follows: Early in August, 1915, he had inquired from the Viceroy whether medical supplies were needed, and offered volunteer assistance to meet the needs. This was thought unnecessary by the Viceroy, who reported that all was well, and Mr. Chamberlain transmitted that information to the members of Parliament who inquired. But things were far from being satisfactory, and the complaints increased. On Oct. 14, 1915, Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, as follows:

I continue to receive from members of Parliament and others anxious inquiries about the health of the troops in Mesopotamia and the provisions made for them. Inter alia, I have been sent a letter from some officer there in which he incidentally observes that my statement as to ice and other comforts provided at the base hospitals "was all eyewash."

I cannot go behind your assurance that all that is necessary and possible is being done, and you yourself are necessarily dependent on the reports of the military; but you will remember how we received the same assurances from military and medical authorities at the time of the South African War, and yet how much more might, after all, have been done, at any rate in the early days of the campaign.

As we must now look forward not only to a prolonged occupation of Mesopotamia but to having increased numbers of troops there, I beg that you will take all the steps in your power to stimulate the ingenuity of the medical authorities in making provisions for their health and for the comfort of the sick. No expense ought to be allowed to stand in the way of the best provision that science can suggest.

On Dec. 3 Mr. Chamberlain wrote again, in very strong terms:

You know how anxious I am about the health of our forces in Mesopotamia. Apart from all feelings of humanity and the duty we owe to those who are giving their lives, men are too precious to be wasted. I wish to make all allowances for difficulties, perhaps only partly perceived by me and not known to my correspondents, but I am very uneasy about the reports that reach me. * * *

I beg you not to be content with easy assurances. On your advice, comforts, &c., are not

being sent from here and we shall have no defense if all that is possible is not done.

Again and again Mr. Chamberlain received reports that all was well.

GENERAL NIXON'S ASSURANCES

The appalling conditions above described, as reported in a telegram bearing General Nixon's name and addressed to the Secretary of State for India (Mr. Chamberlain), were painted *couleur de rose*. The telegram read as follows:

Wounded satisfactorily disposed of. Many likely to recover in country comfortably placed in hospitals at Amara and Basra. Those for invaliding are being placed direct on two hospital ships that were ready at Basra on arrival of river boats. General condition of wounded very satisfactory. Medical arrangements, under circumstances of considerable difficulty, worked splendidly.

The Commissioners appointed by Parliament tell how they investigated the source of this telegram and what they found, as follows:

We have had great difficulty in ascertaining who actually drafted this telegram and was responsible for its dispatch. Sir John Nixon, who was ill at the time it was sent, in his evidence before us stated that he had only a dim, if any, recollection of the circumstances, but he admitted having seen it the day after its dispatch, and as it was sent in his name he accepted the responsibility for it.

Sir John Nixon has communicated to us a letter he has lately received from a member of the staff in Mesopotamia, which states that this telegram was drafted, and is in the handwriting of Surgeon General Hathaway, though it is not initialed by him, but by two members of Sir John Nixon's staff, subordinate officers in the office of Major Gen. Cowper, then Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General of Force "D."

Surgeon General Hathaway told us that he had assisted in framing it. Major Gen. Cowper stated to us that he personally had no share in the dispatch of this telegram, and that he did not himself submit it to Sir John Nixon before his subordinate dispatched it. These two subordinate officers seem to have accepted Surgeon General Hathaway's authority as sufficient. It is impossible to believe that Surgeon General Hathaway was ignorant of the condition and sufferings of the sick and wounded. He had been at Laj when the wounded arrived from the battlefield, and he had himself worked with great energy in embarking them on the steamers.

He had also traveled down the river with the wounded and was, according to one witness, actually at Basra at the date of the Medjidieh's arrival.

Major Carter stated to us that he had insisted upon seeing Sir John Nixon in order that he (Sir John Nixon) might personally know of the

condition of the wounded on their arrival at Basra in the Medjidieh.

This commission, in its report to Parliament, charges the British Indian administration with gross maladministration and with being directly responsible for "all the troubles in Mesopotamia," which means all the troubles in the Near East, since Mesopotamia was merely the military base for the British operations in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Syria, including Palestine and other territories occupied by British forces during and since the World War.

The members of this commission comprised the following high British officials:

Lord George Francis Hamilton, G. C. S. I.

The Earl of Donoughmore, K. O.

Lord Hugh Cecil, member of Parliament.

Sir Archibald Wiliamson, Baronet, member of Parliament.

John Hodge, member of Parliament.

Commander Josiah C. Wedgwood, member of Parliament.

Admiral Sir Cyprian Arthur George Bridge, G. C. B., and

General Sir Neville Gerald Lyttelton, G. C. B., G. C. V. O.

Their report has never been issued to the press for publication.

Lord Hardinge was succeeded in 1916 by Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy and Governor General of India. [The latter was succeeded in January, 1921, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Reading.]

WAR CABINET'S POLICY

Following the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain as Secretary of State for India, on July 11, 1917, the deciding of policies regarding Mesopotamia passed to the War Cabinet. Henceforth an aggressive policy was adopted and Mesopotamia was flooded with British-Indian troops. In 1917 the British forces were increased to 236,000 Indian and 86,000 British, in 1918 to 307,740 Indian and 108,400 British effectives. The British troops occupied the whole of Mesopotamia, and took possession of the oil fields, but they never conquered the Mesopotamian population.

Following the signing of the armistice and the discussion of the plans to give independence to the Arabs, the fighting decreased, but was resumed when the plan failed to materialize. The Arab uprisings increased in 1920, and by June the coun-

try became again a military camp. As the "uprisings" increased through the year, the British forces were increased, until at the end of 1920 there were over 100,000 troops. Of these about 18,000 were British; the balance were mostly Indian. This was a large force for Mesopotamia, which covers an area of only 143,000 square miles and has a population of only about 2,800,000. Of late it has been decided that the air force, using airplanes equipped with guns and bombs, is much more effective than troops. Therefore it has been decided to decrease the number of troops, and these have been reduced to between 75,000 and 80,000.

The British have guarded jealously the oil wells in operation at Gazara, near Mosul, Mandali, northeast of Bagdad, and the oil and asphalt deposits at Hit, Kufri, Kirkuk, Jebel, Ruin, Fet-hah, Kaiyara, Mugheir, Benaid el Oar, and other places located in Mesopotamia and on the Persian border and on the Persian Gulf, which are estimated to hold over two billion barrels of oil.

It will be recalled that at the San Remo Conference in April, 1920, the Supreme Council gave a mandate for Mesopotamia and Palestine to Great Britain; and Great Britain entered into an agreement with France whereby the British Government undertook, among other things, to "grant to the French Government, or its nominees, 25 per cent. of the net output of crude oil at current market rates which his Majesty's Government may secure from Mesopotamian oil fields," and the French Government undertook, among other things, to "permit the Anglo-Persian Oil Company to lay a pipe line across French mandated territory.

The United States Government learned of the secret San Remo agreement and of the award of the Mesopotamian mandate to Great Britain, and addressed a note protesting against both the award of the mandate and the provisions of the San Remo agreement. A number of notes were exchanged between the United States and Great Britain on this question, but no settlement has been reached. Another note has just been transmitted to Great Britain by Secretary of State Hughes, and the tone of the British reply will depend on the turn of Anglo-Indian Turkish affairs.

INDIAN GOVERNMENT CRITICAL

Relieving the Indian Government and the India Office of directing the management of Mesopotamian operations relieved them of their responsibility in connection with the same and made them critical of the actions of the British War Office, the War Council, the Cabinet and the Foreign Office, who drew on the Indian Government constantly for additional Indian troops and supplies and equipment for the Mesopotamian campaign. Although the Indian Government had flatly stated and reiterated that it could not supply as many as 50,000 Indian troops for the Mesopotamian campaign, the War Office, carrying out the decisions and policies of the London Cabinet, the War Council and the Foreign Office, ordered to Mesopotamia close to 200,000 Indian troops in 1916, which were increased to over 236,000 effectives in 1917 and to over 307,000 in 1918; and over 100,000 were retained in 1919, 1920 and 1921—continuously under war conditions. In addition to drafting hundreds of thousands of Indian troops to fight in Mesopotamia, the War Office drafted tens of thousands of Indians to "clean up" Mesopotamia, under conditions that can be described only as compulsory labor.

The Arab uprising in Palestine in 1921, followed by riots on the part of the non-Arab population, brought from the Indian Government and the India Office new criticism of the policies of the Foreign Office and the Cabinet, and the friction between the Indian administration and these two Home Governmental bodies became intensified. Sir Herbert L. Samuels, the High Commissioner for Palestine, in his report for 1921 to Lord Churchill, confirmed the Indian official's view by attributing the uprisings to the policy under which he was forced to work.

The Anglo-French discord regarding the policy to be followed in Turkey by the Allies further supported the Indian Government's contentions. The Indian Government and India Office held that the Allies could not enforce the Treaty of Sèvres, and should modify it. The French Government held the same. When, on Dec. 6, 1921, a French Government note rebutted Lord Curzon by pointing out that "the entire strength of the Allies has been unable to

enforce" the Sèvres Treaty, it expressed the opinion already advanced by the Indian Government and India Office.

APPEAL BY LORD READING

When it became known that the British Foreign Office, in November, 1921, had arranged with the Greek Premier a plan for allied intervention in Turkey, that Lloyd George and Poincaré, at their meeting at Boulogne on Feb. 25, 1922, had decided to call a Near East conference and that the British policy would be to threaten the Turks with "intervention" first, then to offer to evacuate Anatolia, if necessary to meet the requirements of the Turkish Nationalist Government, the Indian Government and the India Office offered suggestions. They felt that the British policy was again inadequate to meet the highly critical conditions. They felt that, being in touch with the Moslem world, the Indian Government and the India Office were in a position to know what should be done and were qualified to advise. As their advice was not sought, and would not be listened to by the Cabinet, they resorted to the plan of making it public. The Secretary of State for India, the Right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who had succeeded Mr. Chamberlain as India Secretary in 1917, was willing to assume the responsibility, on his side, and Lord Reading was equally willing to assume it. Thus is explained the statement officially given to the press at Delhi on March 8 and published in London under authority of Mr. Montagu, in which Lord Reading declared it to be his duty, and the duty of the Indian Government, on the eve of the Greco-Turkish Conference (this conference opened in Paris, March 22), "to lay before your Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Sèvres Treaty between Turkey and the Allies." The telegram continued thus:

The Government in India is fully conscious of the complexity of this problem, but India's record in the war, in which Indian Moslem soldiers participated in such great numbers, and the support which the Indian Moslem cause has received in the entire nation entitle her claim to the completest fulfillment and justify her reasonable aspirations.

The Government in India particularly emphasizes the necessity of guaranteeing the neutrality of the Dardanelles and the security of its

non-Moslem peoples. It also urges evacuation of Constantinople, sovereignty of the Sultan over holy places, restoration of the Turk in Thrace, also in Adrianople and Smyrna. The Government urges that these points are of supreme importance to India.

INDIAN SECRETARY OUSTED

This startling message from India, and its publication by Mr. Montagu, without the authority of Earl Curzon, the Foreign Minister, the Cabinet or of Lloyd George himself, blew off the lid of the caldron of Indian politics, which had been kept from boiling over in the past three years only by the group headed by the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, who, as Lord of the Privy Seal and leader of the House of Commons, ranks next in power to Lloyd George. Only the strict censorship had prevented the public and the major part of the members of Parliament from learning the facts regarding the inside causes of the controversy that led to the Anglo-Indian-Turkish crisis. The reaction of the Foreign Office was expressed in a letter written by Lord Curzon, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Montagu on March 6, 1922, two days before the India recommendations were made public, on learning from Lord Montagu that he had approved the publication. The text of this letter was as follows:

Private.

March 6-22.

Dear Montagu:

I much deplore that you should have thought it right, without consulting the Cabinet, to authorize publication of that telegram even as amended. Had I, when Viceroy, ventured to make public a pronouncement in India about the foreign policy of the Government in Europe, I should certainly have been recalled. As it was, I was once rebuked for making casual references in a speech.

I consulted Mr. Chamberlain this morning, in the absence of the Prime Minister, and found that he entirely shared my views. But it was too late. That I should be asked to go into the conference in Paris while a subordinate branch of the British Government, 6,000 miles away, dictates to the British Government what line it thinks I ought to pursue in Thrace, seems to me quite intolerable. But the part that India has sought to play or been allowed to play in this series of events passes my comprehension.

Moreover, it is of very dangerous import, for if the Government of India, because it rules over a large body of Moslems, is entitled to express and publish its views about what we do in Smyrna or Thrace, why not equally in Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, Arabia, the Malay Peninsula, or any other part of the Moslem world? Is

Indian opinion always to be the final court of Moslem opinion?

I hope this may be the last of these most unfortunate pronouncements, and if any other is ever contemplated, I trust at least that you will give me the opportunity of expressing my opinion in the Cabinet before sanction is given.

The resignation of Mr. Montagu at the demand of Lloyd George himself, furious at the publication in question, and the appointment of Viscount Peel as the new Secretary for India, on March 18, were recorded in the April issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. I am advised from a highly authoritative and reliable source that the Cabinet discussed the advisability of asking for the immediate resignation also of Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India. But

when they considered possible candidates to take Lord Reading's place, they found, as they had found in 1916 and in 1920, that none of the suitable candidates was willing to accept. The high position of Viceroy, with the £17,070 a year salary, is not wanted by the few men who are sufficiently seasoned in British diplomatic experience and adequately equipped to fill it.

It is curious to note that the predecessors of Lord Montagu and Lord Reading were forced to resign because the Parliamentary investigation of the causes of the Mesopotamian disasters charged them with having failed to make known the exact conditions. Lord Montagu, on the other hand, was forced to resign because he permitted the conditions to be made public.

GERMANY'S WAR BLIND

NEARLY 5,000 former German soldiers, according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, are now living in darkness. The number is steadily increasing, though three and a half years have now passed since the fighting ceased. During the first months of the war the German Government and the people generally favored the view that it was the duty of the nation to support the blinded soldiers for the rest of their lives. As the number of these victims grew, however, it was pointed out by Government officials and psychologists that this would be a mistake—that the afflicted should be given some definite interest in life—and the work of training them for industry was begun. The appeal made by the eye specialist, Professor Silex, to the German industrialists to give the blinded soldiers a chance was cordially received by one large organization, the Siemens-Schuckert Electric Company, and after they had testified that the

blinded men were making good other firms followed this company's example. The Siemens Company now employs nearly 200 blind veterans. A committee appointed by the Minister of Commerce and Industry supervises the blind workers throughout the country; its investigations have shown that there are more than 100 kinds of labor at which they may be advantageously employed. Blinded university men are carrying on courageously. Some fifty-three are studying at Marburg University. Many are teaching, some are in the pulpit, eleven serve as organists in Berlin churches; others are in court, State or municipal service; writers, doctors, lawyers, bank employes, journalists are variously represented. Thus the German blind, almost without exception, are struggling effectively to overcome their physical handicap and to serve the Commonwealth as best they may.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PERILOUS RACE PROBLEM

By HAROLD WODSON

Editor of The Natal Advertiser, Durban, Union of South Africa

Triple color problem in a country where black, brown and white converge—Europe's challenge for house room in the land of the Bantu—A question of the survival of the fittest

ALTHOUGH it is generally assumed that the proportions of the native problem in the Union of South Africa are menacing enough without having regard to the rest of the African continent, every estimate of the question is valueless that ignores Europeans and non-Europeans in Africa as a whole. Though no census will, for many generations, reveal the exact numbers of the native tribes that populate the greater part of that vast and only partially explored territory, the precarious foothold of the white man is only too exactly known. A slender European population of diminishing political prestige has its home in Egypt. The Spanish and French Mediterranean colonies boast of white outposts with hinterlands of unsubdued tribes maintaining a sort of instinctive liaison with remoter and more barbarous peoples in the interior. The colonies and protectorates fringing the east and west coasts of Africa reproduce similar phenomena—a tenuous thread of white men, like a strand of cotton, encircling vast and unnumbered masses of barbarism having its primal springs in climatic fastnesses where the hardy European might penetrate but could never colonize.

Only in the extreme south of the continent has the white man successfully made his home on African soil. Only in the recently enlarged Union of South Africa has Anglo-Saxon civilization demonstrated that it can be more than merely a military outpost, preserving its foothold by virtue of white wizardry on the field of battle. The Union of South Africa is the one part of the continent where the white man challenges the African for

house room, the one successful essay of European colonization in the land of the Bantu. Upon us, more than on any other circumstance, depends whether the white man is to make good in Africa. Britain may blunder in Egypt, France in Algiers, Spain in Morocco, Portugal in East or West Africa, Belgium in the Congo, without the result being more than episodal in this continent of perpetual enigmas. So long as the white civilization in the south holds, no error elsewhere need be fatal. But if the day should ever come when the tide of color gathers force from those hidden central springs of African life and overwhelms the white civilization that has so tardily been built up in the south since the days of van Riebeck, the outlook will be desperate indeed.

This is why the native and colored problems of the Union are of such paramount significance to Africa and the world as a whole. If they are not solved successfully in the next few years they will be solved later in a manner tragic enough for those foolhardy enough to live on in a land where the native increases far more rapidly than the white man, and where, alas, the prestige of the white man seems often enough to diminish as his numbers increase. When the student looks at the handful of white men in the Union of South Africa and the quadrupled aggregate of the natives, he must not conclude that these are the final proportions of the problem. The white men represent practically all the white settlers in Africa. The natives are but the spearhead of aboriginal contact with the European stranger, and the spear is as long and as broad as Africa itself.

At the end of June, 1921, the estimated population of the Union of South Africa was 6,941,136. Of this total 1,527,035 were white, 5,250,184 were Bantu and other colored Africans, and 163,917 were Asiatic. The colored population, therefore, was 5,414,101, or over three and a half times the white population. Since union was accomplished twelve years ago the total population has increased by 1,064,000; the white population by 272,000, the Bantu by 780,000, and the Asiatic by 12,000. The white increase, of course, includes settlers and immigrants from overseas, and though their number is inconsiderable it is sufficient to demonstrate conclusively that, from a point of view of natural increase, the Bantu people are multiplying faster than whites. This, of course, is deeply significant. The position of the white man in South Africa is not that of a virile newcomer elbowing out a dying aboriginal race. The Bantu is fecund. He is tremendously loyal to his tribal system, which estimates wealth in terms of cattle and wives; and now that his males are no longer periodically decimated by warfare, his increase is likely to survive in yet more ominous numbers than hitherto. Industrialism, it is true, is one of the lesser handmaids of decimation. Other European vices also play their part. Nevertheless, unless white settlers come to Africa in very considerable numbers in the near future, the investment of this output of civilization by its potential enemies will become yet closer. Every natural factor is on the side of the aboriginal. The only hope of redress in numbers, so far as the white man is concerned, depends on colonization in the Union from the densely peopled areas of Europe, and colonization, sadly enough, is, for political reasons, in strong disfavor in the Union at the present time.

It is impossible adequately in the limited space of a single article to trace the history of the aboriginals in South Africa since the first European settlers came here three hundred years ago. Broadly it may be said that the gradual exploitation of the land by European settlement has seen successively the subjugation of the native as a tribal warrior and his gradual absorption in the economic life of the new era that European pene-

tration inaugurated. But even among the broadest generalizations the student must walk warily if he would pick his way to a rational estimate of the present problem.

TWO CONFLICTING IDEALS

The Dutchmen—the earliest of the European comers to Africa—riveted slavery on the natives who came into their orbit. The later-coming English abolished slavery in the Cape, and denied thereafter the right of the Dutch to buy and sell human lives. This conflict of ethical ideals was at the root of the Great Trek, when, early last century, the Dutch moved northward through the Orange Free State to the Transvaal, and thereafter established independent republics where they might be free from British domination and British theories on native government.

Through the mists of a dozen conflicts in which British and Dutch have striven for military and economic supremacy in South Africa loom these contending theories of native subjugation. Broadly it may be said that the Dutch attitude toward the native today is spiritually very little different from what it was a century or more ago. The Dutch theory of government stubbornly denies even any abstract right to the native. The Dutch tradition is a patriarchal one, in which the native is perpetually a lower order predestined to be in political and economical subjection to a higher one. The English attitude, on the other hand, has usually been of the more liberalizing kind, in which an appreciation of the value of a contented native order has blended happily with a rough sort of instinctive justice toward the subject races of an imperial people.

It might at first blush seem unfair to stress too much the essential differences between the traditional Dutch and the traditional English attitude toward the aboriginal peoples of South Africa. But on reflection it will be seen how, in a country in which the conflicting ideals of two European races are engaged in friendly rivalry for ultimate ascendancy, the whole future of Africa may depend on whether the Dutch or the British instinctive attitude toward the native will finally prevail. How fundamentally instinctive these feelings are is revealed in the fact that only

once in the whole twelve years of union has the House of Assembly divided on absolutely racial lines; loyal and disloyal Dutch alike on one side, British on the other. The issue which provoked that unique division was one in which the allocation of certain areas for native settlements was in dispute, the English point of view being that the native under the Government proposals was being inequitably treated.

If the reader has followed the argument thus far, it will be possible for him to visualize broadly the outlines of the native question in Africa today. Practically all the unskilled work of the Union of Africa is done by the native. He is the laborer on the Dutch farms; he is the hewer of wood and the drawer of water in the towns and the villages. Though the great majority of his people still live tribal lives in native territories, such as Zululand, Swaziland or Basutoland, the populations of the large towns are almost equally divided between black and white. The native male does the housework in practically every domestic establishment. He is the messenger and carrier in every store. He is the unskilled worker in the mines and in the factories. To Dutch and English alike he is, of course, racially taboo. Miscegenation is the unforgivable sin. The sheer necessity for maintaining the prestige of the white utterly precludes any association whatsoever between the two, even if physiological repugnance did not constitute a yet stronger bar to any social approximation.

Nor must it ever be forgotten that the native is at heart a child and in nature a barbarian. He keeps constant touch with his tribal home and his tribal ways of thinking, though the steady penetration of European ideas and the allurements of European civilization are gradually undermining the old-time authority of the tribal rule. Yet he never forgets his kraal, and the native who toils in the towns takes his earnings back with him from time to time to the place whence he came, there to buy cattle and barter them for wives, and thus build up by this dual process the wealth most dear to his traditional outlook.

Yet beneath all this seeming identification of the native with a subordinate rôle

in the white man's scheme of things Africa, very vital forces are rapidly making themselves felt. Two parallel processes of education are going on in the native mind which are fraught with great significance to the future. The town natives—in contradistinction to the "raw," or kraal, natives—are acquiring European education at an ominous rate; ominous when it is remembered that they are denied any outlet for its expression.

DANGEROUS INJUSTICE

At the same time an economic ferment is in progress (fostered, it is true, by advanced European labor politico-economists of the Marxian order) among those tens of thousands of manual workers who have acquired the technical facility of the white man, but are denied any recognition of it; and who realize that the entire fabric of European economic development in this country rests on a black proletariat that is unenfranchised, voiceless, underpaid (having respect to its relative contribution to production) and arbitrarily denied any opportunity whatever of further self-expression. There is very little average skilled artisan work in the country which a certain proportion of native workers are not able to execute; yet an economic caste, as rigid as the social and political caste, utterly forbids any recognition of the fact. The twin barriers of industrial legislation and a nervous social instinct keep out this rising tide of increasing native efficiency; yet as it is repeatedly thrown back one fancies its baffled, sullen and disappointed note grows deeper and more menacing. If it could detect the touch of liberality in the European attitude toward its aspirations, the menace could be ignored; for the South African native has lived too long in proximity to the white man to hanker after armed strife again. But he is often compelled to feel that at least half the European population of South Africa has never forgiven the past that struck the fetters from the bondsman and made him physically free; while among the other half a large industrial section fears the emancipation of the black because of its possible economic consequences on wages; of the reminder there are not sufficient holding the enlightened faith of a qualified liberalism toward sub-

ject and untaught peoples to make a great deal of impression on the legislative currents of the land.

On the European side the general attitude is one of drift, with an implied suggestion that the future somehow will straighten things out. On the native side is a steadily deepening impression that the white man is becoming increasingly dependent on the black, but is increasingly disinclined to recognize and reward the value of the latter's services. The native, like a child, has a keen, if inarticulate, sense of justice; and this is at present in a disturbed state. White prestige today is living largely on the interest of the less mercenary days of thirty or forty years ago, when a different stamp of English colonist dwelt in Africa. There is little in the present relationships of white and black to offer reassurance for the future; and (to come back to the starting point of this review) white prestige in South Africa must either be reinforced in the native mind by a more rapid influx of settlers from without or the native will inevitably conclude that a sort of European decadence is setting in, which, sooner or later, will impale its victims on the spearhead of Pan-Africa.

PROBLEM OF EAST INDIANS

The estimated Asiatic population of the Union of South Africa in June, 1921, was 164,000. These people are almost entirely East Indians, the non-Indian Asiatics being not more than a few hundreds all told. Nor are the Indians evenly distributed. Neither they nor the natives were included in the most recent census, but it may be taken as substantially accurate that 145,000 are in Natal, the remainder being divided between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal. The Orange Free State, by virtue of pre-union legislation, is still able to prevent them from entering that province, and there are not more than a hundred there altogether.

The Indian in Africa presents in many respects a problem very dissimilar from that of the aboriginal. He was brought into Natal a little over sixty years ago under an indenture system to work on the sugar plantations. His labor was cheap and efficient, and to him more than to any other factor is due the success of sugar

planting in Natal. Though the period of his original indenture was limited, he was loath to return to his native country at the expiry of it, and the Natal Government of that time considered it a prudent sort of business to allow him to remain, after his indenture had expired, on the payment of an annual tax. The prospect of an immediate revenue blinded the colonists of that day to the legacy they were to bequeath to their offspring. The South African native had never adapted himself to the sugar cane industry, and for many years the introduction of coolie labor continued unchecked. The planters needed the labor; the industry depended on it, and it is probable that even today considerable objection would be raised by the people of Natal to any compulsory repatriation of the coolie who has done so much for the chief Natal industry.

It is not the coolie laborer who today constitutes the Asiatic menace to South Africa. It is the Arab trader who came in the wake of the first indentured laborers, who was induced to settle and trade with his Asiatic compatriots, and who has since become a considerable economic rival of the European trader in the towns and villages of South Africa. It is the trader who has penetrated to the other provinces. It is the trader who, establishing his business alongside the European, undersells him in every commodity from vegetables to clothing. It is the trader who, with more than Hebraic patience, has built up large trading concerns in which cheap Indian labor is engaged and where an increasing volume of poorer class European trade is done. It is the trader and not the comparatively inoffensive and rarely seen Indian proletariat on the sugar estates who has stirred South African sentiment so that anti-Asiatic leagues are common enough movements in all the large centres, and so that the Government has been forced to pass legislation making the repatriation of all who wish to return to India as tempting as possible.

Compulsory repatriation is, of course, out of the question. There is a large population of South African-born Indians who in no circumstances can be induced to leave the country. But even those who own India as their birthplace have little inclination to return, and the most recent

measures adopted last year by the Union Government, offering a free passage to India and certain other material inducements to any who wish to return, have met with a meagre response. Meanwhile nothing save the costliest provision for expropriation would meet with any success in inducing those who have a large or even a small stake in South Africa to go back to India. So far as the established traders in the large centres are concerned, they are in some cases men with banking accounts running into six figures of pounds sterling and their aggregate wealth must amount to millions.

THE INDIAN A PARIAH

Yet the Indian, rich or poor, is a pariah. He has no parliamentary franchise of any kind whatsoever, though in certain towns he enjoys the privileges of the property owner. Socially he is as taboo as the aboriginal. The color bar is impassable. Although Europeans trade with him, and often prefer his shops to their own, he is always a colored man; and in South Africa that is equivalent to saying he can never be other than an inferior order in a land where the only aristocracy is an aristocracy of color. The Indian never visits the white man's house; he may not join the white man's club, social or sporting. He may not sit in European parts of the theatre, but must share the part set aside (where any is set aside) for natives generally.

The feeling toward him is one of much deeper antipathy than that entertained toward the intellectually inferior native. It is antipathy mingled with economic fear. For the Indian—even the lower caste Indian who works on the plantations—is a being of considerable mental alertness, and, speaking quite generally, is probably a shade more rather than a shade less intelligent than the lower order of whites one meets in the European underworld. Where he gets the opportunity to apply himself to the crafts of the European artisan, he reveals promptly that the traditional craftsmanship qualities of his race are only dormant; while that ominous Asiatic capacity for working "round the clock" and for living on a quarter of the resources needed for the average white makes him a menacing being, however compassionately one views his political

and social ostracism. His numbers, happily, though large, are not likely to be increased from overseas, for to all intents and purposes Indian immigration is prohibited save in very special cases. At the same time his natural increase is considerable and is likely to continue so long as the ghetto conditions in which he lives in towns like Durban are encouraged. Filth and squalor have for centuries been his inheritance; and these things he perpetuates the more readily because he is practically compelled to live in segregated areas in the towns. Yet filth, squalor and overcrowding are the conditions which most easily minister to fecundity—however degenerate the offspring later may become.

PERILS OF THE SITUATION

These, then, are the broad outlines of the native and color questions of South Africa. There is a white aristocracy of a million and a half souls, jealous of its prestige, strongly disposed to regard the aboriginal as a God-ordained perpetual proletariat, yet uneasily feeling that the present relationships cannot last much longer. Confronting that aristocracy is the menacing and growing volume of native life whose increasing contact with white civilization is weakening rather than strengthening the regard in which the white man is held.

This native life detects no diminution in its own virility. It sees that its numbers are increasing in a greater ratio than the white man's increase. Education and the association of its leaders with Western theories are deepening daily a feeling that the native African has a destiny other than merely to fetch and carry for white men for all time. Yet with this he sees a rigid resolve on the part of all but a negligible few Europeans to deny him access to any but the rudest forms of employment, and to forbid him to use the technical knowledge which—as in the gold mines on the Rand, for instance—long association with white overseers and workers has given him. His tribal system is inevitably breaking up as he merges more and more in the Western ways which are being imposed on South Africa; and nothing has been put in its place. This, too, alarms him.

The tendency of these things is to breed a suspicion that Western ideals rest on a priori assumption that he has no future apart from the white man, and race consciousness is too deeply implanted in him for him to accept this view without demur. There are happily few signs as yet that Pan-Africanism makes any appeal to him. At the same time, as he sees the white race in South Africa practically stationary in numbers, he cannot escape the feeling that he is gradually taking the measure of the white intrusion; and the native mind is too inconsecutive to correct this conclusion by any more rational estimate of the future of South Africa.

Meantime, even more perplexing stands the Asiatic—an enigma equally to the white and to the black. In civilizations the aboriginal and the Asiatic are as dissimilar as can be. Were such a thing ever to occur that the black man in Africa rose against Western civilization, the natural place of the Indian would be alongside the white man and against barbarism. But the prevailing view in South Africa is that color is the only test of civilization, and that there is no civilization

where there is not a white skin. The economic dread, too, that the non-European, if encouraged in the paths of Western progress, will undersell and underlive the white man and eventually drive him out of the country, is responsible for the deep-seated objections to any liberal legislation on color questions. The Asiatic, of course, is hated and dreaded most; but the fear regarding the black man is only momentarily less because he has so much further to go before he really becomes a competitive factor against the European.

If, for political or other reasons, European South Africa does not intend to increase its numbers by immigration, the rational policy to pursue would seem to be to bring the Indian along, by easy stages, to be a willing and capable adjunct of European civilization against forces which might at any hour lapse back to barbarism. But the fetich of color absolutely precludes this, and in the only considerable European settlement in Africa the white man is pursuing a course more likely to provoke coalitions against him than to strengthen the slender hold he has on the sub-Continent.

"FALCONS" AND BOY SCOUTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the famous Czech gymnastic society, the Sokols (Falcons), was celebrated on Feb. 16, 1922. The first group of Sokols, formed in 1862, consisted of seventy-five people. Mass gymnastics, rhythmical movements, fencing and excursions were the main objects of the society. Its career under the Austrian rule was one of many difficulties and vicissitudes, inasmuch as the Vienna Government looked on it with suspicion as a distinctly Czech nationalistic body. The amazing success of the movement will always be associated with the names of Tyrš and Fügner. After sixty years of existence, the organization now possesses more than 300,000 members, distributed among fifty-three regions. It publishes fifty bulletins and a great number of technical works, besides organizing thousands of lecture and study courses. Its support is always given to ethnical minori-

ties, and its influence has consequently spread far abroad beyond the borders of the new republic. During the war it helped powerfully in the formation of the Czechoslovak legions and also in national manifestations abroad, including the Czech organizations in America. Its most recent congresses were held in London (1910), Antwerp (1920) and Chicago (1921). It is considered today an excellent medium for extending civic education and physical health throughout the nation.

Its only rival today is the Boy Scout movement, which has increased by leaps and bounds in recent years. There were 14,000 Boy Scouts in Czechoslovakia in December, 1921; in March the total was reported to be 17,000, and the veld hat and green shirt of the Scout are familiar sights throughout the country. The Government is supporting the Boy Scout movement officially as an important agency for building up the health of the nation.

FAILURE OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

By A LATIN-AMERICAN OBSERVER

Underlying reasons why the recent attempt to create a Central American Union could not succeed—Inter-State jealousies, and intrigues of selfish factions

THE same warmth with which the birth of the Central American Federation was acclaimed is used now to condemn its early failure. Only now do we find the false prophets reminding us of the many similarly abortive attempts made during the last 100 years. Nothing can be more alluring than the federation idea, and this perhaps explains the degree of interest displayed by the press all over America at its last rehearsal. Indeed, can there be anything more inspiring than the spectacle of five young nations, upon whom weighs the shadow of internal strife and fratricidal war, turning their back upon a sterile and stormy past and facing the world as a single nation, resolved to take the high place reserved for it by reason of its unique geographical position and enormous natural resources? Its failure was profoundly deplored. What caused it? In our judgment the failure is due to that Latin-American mental process which rejects a broad, just principle inserted in a constitutional charter to effect changes actually amounting to national transformation. Federation, on the contrary, presupposes a slow and deep preparatory work. There is no hope of attaining anything by a change in laws while conditions remain the same. Looked at in this light, the Central American Federation idea at once was doomed to failure. Wherever we turn our eyes, we cannot find the facts, we cannot find the bonds and ties for the union of five countries that have lived for 100 years a life of mutual distrust.

The press of these countries affords a fair reflection of this state of things. In El Salvador and Guatemala there exists a bitter, pitiless internal enmity between parties. All of them profess to revere and love the ideal of unionism, but what they really show to an outsider is a small,

provincial aspiration toward the predominance of a group.

A CONVENTIONAL DOGMA

The fact is that unionism to the average Central American is a traditional article of faith in which nobody believes any more, but which no one dares to denounce as a conventional lie. In Central America one is born a unionist; up to this time, however, not a single practical program has been evolved for the attainment of that ideal. This is why, after a whole century of talking unionism, as soon as the idea is at the point of materializing, all we see is the fall of a President from power, a war that starts afresh, instead of witnessing the steady development of some co-operative plan which could materially help toward making the union a reality.

Thus, there is not the least pretense of solidarity among the well-educated classes of the five little countries. Even less of a favorable nature, however, could be found among their peoples. First of all, to pass from Guatemala into the neighboring State, there is no other route than the sea and on foreign occasional steamers at that; and to reach Tegucigalpa, where the capital of the union was located, three and even four days were required, and there was no possibility whatever of reaching it from the Atlantic coast. The people of Guatemala, where the metropolis was situated in colonial times, still show their contempt for the people of the other States by calling them "guanacos," and they pay the Guatemalans back with the epithet "chapines." Local prejudices are everywhere; rivalries among cities and the contests for the location of the capital of the federation are matters of daily occurrence.

As to racial characteristics, wide differences in type and psychological reaction

are noticeable in passing from one country to another. Only in Costa Rica does the white race prevail. Guatemala has to contend with the problem of the numerical predominance of the Indian; El Salvador, on the one hand, suffers from overpopulation and the lack of agricultural territory, while Honduras appears as a vast desert, so far as population is concerned.

Even in international policies, radical antagonisms and differences of views can be found among them. El Salvador has looked and still looks to Mexico as its natural ally, if only by reason of their similar distrust of Guatemalan rulers. Surrounded by hostile nations, Guatemala naturally looks to the United States as a protector. Costa Rica zealously preserves a tradition of peace and order, which its people rightly hold as their reward for having kept themselves aloof from the other Central American peoples.

Incidentally, this is the reason underlying the Costa Ricans' reluctance to enter the compact, regardless of what their Government has done. In Nicaragua, the country in which the revolutionary epidemic has appeared at its worst, there is a deep-rooted sentiment that nothing can be done in Central America without the material help of the United States. This makes the party in power there the natural enemy of any federation plan not openly approved by the Washington Government.

WHAT HAPPENED IN GUATEMALA

Without any community of views or of interests, what was it, then, that united this time the champions of the federation throughout Central America? It is safe to affirm that only selfish political interest was the motive. A group started the movement in Guatemala, under the name of Partido Unionista, or Unionist Party. For a century there had never been in Guatemala a Unionist Party, and the Liberal and Conservative Parties held the field. The idea of the union was hardly identified with a minority of the latter party. It did not become a dynamic force until it was adopted as the weapon for the overthrow of the 22-year-old dictatorship of Estrada Cabrera. Using unionism as the pass-word, all the people rose unanimously in their effort to shake off tyranny.

But, since in Guatemala only Conserva-

tive and Liberal denominations have a real significance to the people, the regular alignment of parties had to be re-established as soon as the fall of Cabrera was accomplished; but not before the Conservatives had definitely adopted unionism. Under this disguise a reactionary program was launched to undo the progressive work effected under liberal rule since the revolution of 1871, the date that marks the introduction in Guatemala of every reform, from the regulation of the public treasury, the start of the coffee industry and the adoption of a democratic Constitution, to the building of roads, railroads and telegraphs and the setting up of compulsory public education.

While the Liberal Party was engaged in marshaling its forces, the Conservative-Unionist faction had, step by step, taken possession of all branches of the Government, and presently they dominated the will of President Herrera. Under these circumstances they promoted and realized the Federation Pact. The Liberal Party believed that such a union was not sincere in its objective, since the Conservative Party had always been an enemy of the federation idea, and that its real object was to consolidate the power of conservatism in Guatemala and all over Central America. With the help of the army, whose higher heads had been prosecuted by the Conservative Party, desirous of wiping out even the memory of the liberal spirit, the Liberals at last succeeded in ousting the usurpers of power.

In El Salvador, the Unionist movement also began as in Guatemala, as a cloak for the manoeuvring of the party that wished to oust President Melendez, but he, more alert than Cabrera of Guatemala, quickly saw the possibilities of the situation and stole his enemies' thunder by putting himself at the head of the federationist group.

In this manner every Central American country, with the sole exception of Honduras, has used the ideal of the union to sanctify its own selfish, unholy purposes. Lying at the heart of the Central American group of republics, Honduras is the key to the future, and by keeping herself out of international quarrels and strangely free of the taint of domination, it succeeded at last in gaining the confidence and the votes of its sister republics in being chosen

as the location of the Federal capital. The federation, however, has failed once more, and of this there is no doubt even among the very people engaged in its organization. How could it be otherwise? The Central American peoples have not found as yet a solution for their own internal problems, for the smooth working of their local parties. Under such conditions, how could they possibly succeed in forming a federation, which is the most perfect form of government and adapted only to peoples of a very advanced state of culture?

It is often said that the union will cure these evils, which of course is a false premise. On economic grounds the problems

of each country are serious and of a wholly different nature. In Costa Rica, Nicaragua and El Salvador there is a gold standard, while Guatemala has irredeemable paper money, and exchange is at 55 to 1, which means that 55 national pesos are required to make up an American dollar. Without railroads to link these countries, with no money unit for all of them, with narrow provincial rivalries, and, worse than all, with strong irreconcilable parties within the frontiers of each State, there was no possibility that a simple written compact, a Constitution which is an effect and not a cause, a result of facts and not a creator of facts, could effect the miracle of giving birth to a nation.

FALL OF THE UNION SEEN AT CLOSE RANGE

By AN AMERICAN IN GUATEMALA

To the Editor of Current History:

The effect of the Guatemala revolution upon the Central American Union has been to dissolve that union permanently. In the first place, the so-called revolution here in Guatemala was no revolution at all, but simply a coup by a military oligarchy to get control of the Government—to seize power from the only Government that had been duly elected by the people according to the Constitution in the last half a century.

I myself never had any faith in the consummation of the union, although I believe that if it could be brought about in a sensible and positive manner, it would be a long stride toward settling the Central American problem. The people themselves believe this, and for that reason the masses are in favor of the union. They are a simple, non-warlike, and, to a certain extent, a hard-working people. They simply want to be left alone to plant, spin and weave, and are capable of supplying nearly all, if not all, of their earthly requirements. The evils from which they suffer most are militarism, rum and obligatory servitude. It was the intention of those who drafted the Constitution at Tegucigalpa to mitigate these evils, in a

measure at least, but the so-called Constitution was no Constitution at all, but rather a code of laws which, upon becoming effective, would have deprived the States of their autonomy.

The Herrera Government, for the most part, was sincere in working for the union, and furthermore it was making long strides toward restoring the liberties of the people. The masses realized this, and for that reason they refused to go to the polls and vote for Orellana in the elections, which took place on Feb. 15, except at the point of the bayonet. The military oligarchy, which has tyrannized over the people of this country for the last half a century, saw its doom in the enforcement of the Tegucigalpa laws, and that was one of the reasons why it overthrew the Herrera Government. Furthermore, the National Congress, by its legislative acts, attempted to restore the autonomy of the municipalities, thus taking a step toward abolishing the military tyrants who have dominated the municipalities for a generation or more, robbing the people and enslaving them, which was an additional reason for the overthrow of the Government.

Antigua, Guatemala, Central America, March 27, 1922.

ORGANIZED LABOR IN SOUTH AMERICA

By SAMUEL G. INMAN

Executive Secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America

How the whole economic situation in the southern continent is being transformed by new demands of the workers—Serious strikes in Argentina—Chile's President backed by union labor

THE new labor movement is the most astounding of all the remarkable social influences now so rapidly transforming South America. The pitiable condition of labor in the past in Latin America is generally well known. The two words used to describe the laborer are sufficient to indicate his past state—*peon*, denoting financial obligation to employer not possible to shake loose, and *roto*, a broken, ragged fellow. Historically, the conditions of labor are accounted for thus: The Spanish *Hidalgos* were given great grants of land and allowed to force the Indians to labor for them. Country labor was always kept in debt, and town labor consisted largely of personal servants of rich families. Such public work as was carried on was generally done by prisoners. The relationship between the *amo*, or master, and the *peon* was more or less patriarchal. No such thing as "labor unrest" was ever heard of. Even today in great regions of Latin America the laborer, though his material state leaves much to be desired from a sanitary or progressive viewpoint, appears to be unaware that there is anything wrong. I have seen the Indian living under conditions into which comfort apparently rarely entered, owning nothing but the barest hut for shelter and the poorest rags as clothes, with his food limited to the scantiest dishes both in quantity and variety, and with no perceptible pleasure in life except when he took some strong alcoholic drink at a *fiesta*. But unrest, there was none, since the idea of securing better conditions through social revolt was absent.

Sooner or later, however, the industrial age had to invade Latin America. Per-

sonal relationship between employer and employe was severed. Large numbers of workmen began to come together in cities, where they saw new life and began to hear of the outside world and its economic problems. But when these Latin workmen first heard of the strike, as practiced by their brothers in Europe and North America, and tried to invoke it, they were met with a show of military force and compelled to desist. A strike was revolution. Even when the Government did not drive them back to work, they had no idea of sticking to their demands until favorable action was forced.

It was amusing to read the manifestos which they issued as they returned to their jobs, expressing their satisfaction that they had publicly protested against a certain injustice, and thus had saved their *dignidad*. Evidently they considered their dignity as much more important than the still unsettled injustice against which they struck. Strangely enough, the causes of these first strikes, and even of some of the most important and far-reaching recent labor struggles, were not economic but personal questions. With the individualistic Latin, hours and wages are not so important as questions of the discharge of friends or the employment of enemies.

The awakening of the workingmen has not been equally marked in all countries of South America. Labor in the tropical part of the continent is still far from any idea of organization for the purpose of forcing labor conditions. In countries like Peru, where labor is almost entirely Indian, peonage is still largely the rule. There was a recent uprising of Indian miners, but they were soon forced back to

their work. One hears about labor organizations in certain industrial centres near Lima and in the petroleum, sugar and mining districts. But when investigation is made, it is found that these are merely mutual societies, in which the workmen are associated for insurance and social purposes; they do not pretend to work for better contracts with their employers. A more pessimistic group can hardly be found. They are tired of following the political revolutionist, who promises everything before he gets a position, but forgets all when in the saddle. They realize full well that they are powerless before the triple combination of the owner, the priest and the Government. The only friends they seem to recognize are the university students, who are doing real sacrificial work in teaching night classes attended by hundreds of working people in and around Lima.

SIGNS OF AN AWAKENING

Faint sounds of an awakening are heard, however, in the revolutionary sheets which these organizations are publishing. The following free translations from two of the pitiable little labor papers purchased at a news stand at Lima indicate a blind groping after a deliverance of which they have heard something, but understand nothing:

Listen, Brother, to the notes of red with which my song is vibrating; I sing to life—death to death! I go planting roses made of love and truth. Anarchism is my liberating thought. I am the Word which rises in humanity's darkest night and scatters all its pain. Listen, Sister, it is time to rise and greet the morning light which kisses our darkest suffering!

Arise! all the poor of the Universe! Stand, slaves without bread! Shout, all together! Long live the International! Away with all the impediments that bar the proletariat from the enjoyment of its riches! Down with the parasites of labor! Long live the International!

Far different from these incoherent cries heard in the night in Peru are the strong voices in some of the other countries threateningly demanding new rights and privileges. In the last year labor in the more progressive South American countries has passed definitely from the status of an inert mass of humanity, to be bought as cheaply as possible by foreign and domestic capitalists, to that of a class-conscious body of workingmen, a political force to be reckoned with.

There has been a welter of strikes on

every hand, accompanied usually by violence and stressing the recognition of the union to a greater extent than in matters of pay and hours. The cost of living has been a source of discontent everywhere. For the South American countries no reliable index numbers exist, but price levels, in a number of countries, are probably slightly above those in the United States. Depreciated currency and fluctuating exchange values, combined with the refusal of the propertied classes to pay their fair share of the taxes, have increased the pressure even more. In Paraguay even the storekeepers shut up shop and joined the ranks of the strikers. South America has a large floating population of workers, many of whom before the war came and went between Europe and the East Coast countries in a regular seasonal flux. The various Governments, particularly Argentina and Brazil, have arrested hundreds of suspected red leaders, usually Spaniards or Russians, deporting or holding them indefinitely in jail. None of these leaders, however, has become an outstanding figure to which a personality or even a name can be attached. Their success must have been due in large part to a discontent lying everywhere close to the surface, which flared up in the wheat fields and the back reaches of the forests as easily as along the crowded waterfronts of the cities.

LABOR IN ARGENTINA

Argentina has been the centre of the strongest radical influence. Not only the workmen, but the students and professors of the universities, seem to have largely gone over to the Soviet position. The most important labor organization in the country is the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina, popularly known as the "F. O. R. A." Dr. Alfredo Palacios, Professor of Sociology in the University of Buenos Aires, in an address before the university, has given a full account of this remarkable organization, which now has some 300,000 members. The following facts about the organization are taken from that lecture:

The F. O. R. A. was organized May 25, 1901. Five years later, at its fifth Congress, it decided to propagate anarchical communism. The resolution passed read as follows: "The Fifth Congress of the F. O. R. A., recognizing the philosophical principles which have been the basis for the organization of workmen's federations, declares that

it approves and recommends to all its adherents the inculcation among the workmen of the philosophical and economic doctrine of anarchical communism. This education, which prohibits satisfaction in the mere obtaining of the eight-hour régime, will complete emancipation and bring about the social revolution which is desired."

By 1915, however, when there were fifty-one federations in the F. O. R. A.'s membership, with dues totaling over \$20,000, the Confederation changed its viewpoint and abandoned its former official approval of anarchical communism. It continued, however, to accept the class struggle, and this acceptance was made a condition of membership, the common object being the effecting of the workmen's moral, economic and intellectual betterment. In 1919 it comprised 530 federations, the collective membership being over 300,000 and the total revenue in dues totaling \$488,549.

The port strike of 1916 marked the definite beginning of the F. O. R. A.'s strength, which proved decisive. The longshoremen, who had been working twelve and even sixteen hours a day, finally accepted mediation, and the decision of the arbitrator gave to the workmen from 90 to 95 per cent. of their demands. An even greater triumph was won in the case of the nation-wide railroad strike, which lasted almost four weeks and threatened the country with starvation. The Minister of Public Works petitioned the F. O. R. A. to allow food trains to be run, and this was granted under certain conditions. In 1918, when the peon stevedores in the northern city of Posadas declared a strike against labor conditions which amounted to slavery, the Confederation sent a commissioner who ultimately succeeded in settling the strike, in organizing the workmen and in securing better conditions in all respects. The F. O. R. A. has also investigated labor conditions in various fields, including immigrant labor, and has fought continuously legislation unfavorable to the workingmen, while vigorously maintaining labor's right to strike.

ARGENTINE WHARF STRIKE

Buenos Aires has suffered from the strikes referred to above and from other strikes possibly more than any other city in the last two years. At times all business was suspended for days, and only armed men and machine guns were seen on the streets. The biggest fight of 1921 in South America was the year-long strike of the Argentine maritime workers, the *Federacion Obara Maritima*. The main strike had begun in February, 1920, tying up the entire fleet of twenty ships owned by the Argentina Navigation Company, spreading to the ships that served the central market of Buenos Aires, and finally paralyzing traffic on the Platte River between Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, including all Argentine coastal traffic.

Many foreign grain vessels were also tied up. Though the Government intervened, fiscalizing the port and operating ships itself, the workmen established a virtual soviet and controlled all shipping conditions. After a year the Navigation Company had to surrender and to accept practically all the Federation's demands. The power of the Federation was shown in the case of the United States steamer *Martha Washington*, which was held in port at Buenos Aires for two months. Only the intervention of the Government, faced with the danger of a diplomatic break between the two countries, compelled the Federation to loosen its grip.

In May, 1921, the situation reached a climax. A cordon of soldiers was thrown around the wharves, and even the Captain of a ship had to have a permit in order to return from land to his ship. All foreign traffic was tied up for weeks. The writer was able to get out of the city only by taking a river boat to Montevideo, pulling his own trunk on board, as no workmen were allowed to touch baggage. When, in desperation, the business men threatened to close all wholesale houses and the steamship agents threatened to have Buenos Aires eliminated as a port of call for their vessels, the Government forced a break in the strike. Some six hundred radicals were arrested in a few days. As a protest a strike of all affiliated unions was called, but failed to materialize. Normal conditions, after more than two years of terrific industrial war, are now gradually being restored in the City of Buenos Aires. The present financial crisis, which is felt very keenly in Argentina, has, of course, forced workmen to be less insistent in their demands.

Another important group that shared in the general disturbance was that of the railway workers. After several strikes a comprehensive agreement was signed, covering every possible question of wages and working conditions. The wages of all the men, especially those most poorly paid, were increased. The increase aggregated \$10,000,000 for all companies concerned.

The strikes among the agricultural workers were most interesting in their implications. They spread to grain stevedores and railway men, and then to all classes of labor in the up-river and interior cities.

The Forestal Land Company's annual report describes the strike of its workers for recognition of the union. The strike broke out in December, 1920, and lasted a month. At Tartagal it assumed a revolutionary aspect. The company sustained a property loss of \$550,000. It maintained its refusal to treat with outside elements, but agreed to the election of workmen committees at each factory to treat with the local managers on wages and working conditions.

Buenos Aires, a city of more than 1,500,000 inhabitants and with more than thirty daily newspapers in many languages, was left not long ago without papers or even bulletins for six days. Fifteen publishers decided to close down their plants indefinitely after the refusal of union printers to set the advertisements of a boycotted department store. They termed their stand "the united fight for liberty of the press." The spirit of the community was one of resignation, and the strike of the printers, as well as that of the street car employees, which came about the same time, was endured philosophically.

In the midst of all this disturbance, with wholesale arrests by the police and the activities of local "patriotic" societies, general elections for Congress were held in Argentina. They resulted in a very decided victory for the Radical Party, whose head, Irigoyen, is now President of the Republic, with Socialists in second place. Of 150,000 straight party votes cast in the City of Buenos Aires, 55,000 were Radical, 49,000 were Socialist and only 33,000 Progressive Democrat, the old progressive party that had ruled so long. Immediately after the elections the Government raided certain suspected centres in Buenos Aires and the suburbs, arrested 150 "anarchists," and doubled the guards about the city, alleging that it had frustrated a communist conspiracy to set up a soviet in South America. Had the Government taken measures to break the river strike, it would doubtless have received more thanks from business men.

CONDITIONS IN CHILE

Chile has had almost as many labor difficulties as Argentina, but they are due much less to foreign influence. Being on the west coast, Chile is more removed from Europe. It has always been one of

the most homogeneous of Latin American lands. It has developed its own national life, which is probably more marked than that of any other country on the continent. Since the beginning of the republic there have been very few revolutions. The country has been ruled largely by an oligarchy of about a hundred families, who have been both the owners of the land and the directors of the political and commercial life of the country. The Chilean *roto* has been showing a great deal of restlessness for the last decade. Many people have expected the laboring classes to lead a revolution which would overthrow the capitalistic régime. The shedding of blood has happily been averted by a remarkable political uprising.

Owing to the unsettled financial conditions throughout the world and the resulting unsteadiness of the business situation, the laboring classes joined the Liberal Party in its nomination, in 1920, of Arturo Alessandri for Presidential candidate. Their platform advocated currency reform, the income tax, protection of national industries from foreign aggression, various solutions for social ills, the education of women and children, prohibition, parliamentary reforms and the separation of Church and State. The Conservatives, made up chiefly of the landowners and property holders, fought hard to prevent the election of the Liberal candidate. After a hot contest, in which the workingmen of the large cities gave many demonstrations for Alessandri and made it quite evident that there would be trouble should there be an attempt to inaugurate the opposing candidate, the election of Mr. Alessandri was confirmed by Congress.

President Alessandri is encountering great opposition from the oligarchy, which has been accustomed to exploit the laboring classes. It is going as far as it dares in checking his proposed reforms. A test of strength between the President and the Senate was made during my recent visit to Santiago. When the Senate refused to approve certain proposals of one member of the President's Cabinet, the Cabinet, following custom, resigned. The President refused to accept the resignation, saying that the Senate must give a definite vote of censure before he would accept such resignations. The laboring men imme-

diately staged a large demonstration in favor of the President, not only marching through the streets, but standing before his home in relays for two days in a continuous demonstration of friendship, while some of the party made sorties to the homes of certain Senators, which they attacked to emphasize their dissatisfaction with the Senate's tying the hands of the President. The situation was tense, and if the President, who is a very popular man with the common people, had given them any encouragement, they would have treated the reactionary element very roughly.

There is probably no other country in the world where the press is giving so much space to labor movements as in Chile. Most of the large dailies (and the Chilean press is particularly progressive) give a whole page to labor every day, and often items under this heading are continued on other pages. Entering the country by steamer from the north, one lands in the midst of labor trouble in cities like Iquique and Antofagasta, centres of the nitrate region. The nitrate business has gone all to pieces since the close of the war, and there is a great deal of unemployment. An attempt to reduce wages has been made. Some foreign agitators have come to this district and assisted the laboring men in their organized protests. Strikes are the order of the day. Twelve separate walkouts were reported in Antofagasta during my visit last Summer.

The strikes in the coal mines have been the most serious. The miners ask for an average increase of 40 per cent. The coal barons of Chile are barons in the feudal sense of the word, making what even North American capitalists call "unconscionable profits." The large majority of the miners live in company houses and trade at company stores. The representative of the Chilean Department of Labor, who investigated conditions, reported that the men made the equivalent of \$1.50 to \$2.20 a day. They are paid, however, not in currency, but in company values that are liquidated only about five times a year. The working day is from 6 to 6, and children of from 8 to 16 years are employed for 34 to 80 cents a day. These men are asking for an eight-hour day, payments in currency, recognition of the union and bet-

ter police regulations. At last reports, President Alessandri had taken a hand in this dispute, with some probability that he would settle it.

IN BRAZIL AND ELSEWHERE

Labor disturbances have not been as general in Brazil as in Argentina and Chile, but they have by no means been absent. The most violent troubles occurred in the State of Sao Paulo. An ordinary strike of part of the operatives of the Crespi Cotton Mill, which broke out in May, 1920, developed into a menacing revolutionary movement. In the riotings that occurred it was stated that nearly three thousand people were killed by machine guns wielded by the police. The strike was finally settled by an increase of pay, but the workers were in an ugly mood, and more mill strikes followed, under the direction of the Centro Libertario, which openly preached Government overthrow. This Centro obtained the adhesion of 1,400 workers in a weaving mill. Next it tried to achieve its principal object, the adhesion of the employees of the Sao Paulo and Sorocabana Railways, who were unionized and possessed union funds. When, a little later, the Sao Paulo officials dismissed half a score of men, the employees, under the Centro's direction, retaliated with a threat to strike. The officials then inquired of the State if it would guarantee the safety of the railroad's property. The State gave this guarantee and took immediate measures to support it with military force. The railroad company then announced that it would abide by its decision of dismissal, and the strike was nipped in the bud.

To appreciate the difficulty of the situation, it should be understood that one-third of the population of the State of Sao Paulo consists of Italians, an aggregate of 1,000,000, and that it possesses small colonies of at least a dozen nationalities in addition to the native Brazilian population. These enormous groups of aliens speak their own tongues and publish their own alien-language newspapers. During the last fifty years the State has developed with extraordinary swiftness, not only in agriculture, but also in manufacturing. Brazil, a really free country, faces the problem of getting the best from the immigrant without antagonizing or coercing him.

Uruguay has had her share of labor troubles, but has escaped some experienced by her sister republics across the river, owing to her adoption of liberal economic legislation. This republic has even passed a law providing for the payment of workmen while they are out on strike. The new accident law for workmen is extremely liberal. In a recent street car strike, when the owners refused to obey the municipality's order to settle with the strikers, the city Government took over the tramway system and paid the workmen what they asked. It is still running the cars.

Paraguayan labor, as far as it is connected with the shipping and packing business, has taken its cue from Argentina, and has therefore been quite arbitrary and violent. For a year Asuncion was practically without passenger steamship service. One large steamship, which was about to be operated in defiance of the labor union, was slipped out of Asuncion Harbor, right under the guns of the Government gunboats, and sunk. The writer personally experienced some of the danger run by the "innocent bystander" during a street car strike in Asuncion.

Even in backward Ecuador interest in industrial questions seems to be developing. Occasional addresses by "sons of toil" before intellectual or other groups throw an interesting sidelight on these still negative and theoretical activities.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, organized some three years ago, shows the endeavor of the American Federation of Labor to extend its help to the workmen of Latin America. This Pan-American organization has now held three important conferences, two in the United States and

one in Mexico. Meeting thus in the North, its influence has been limited largely to the North American Continent. The American Federation of Labor has sent several deputations to South America, but I find that labor leaders in that continent are not in very close touch with the leaders in the United States or Mexico. Delegates from Peru and other South American countries who have attended some of these Pan-American conferences have not been very representative of the labor organizations. The organizations in the less progressive countries, as has already been pointed out, are not yet developed to the point where they can appreciate the program of the American Federation of Labor. On the other hand, labor leaders in Argentina have no patience with the program of the Federation in the United States, regarding it as entirely too conservative and accusing Mr. Gompers and his associates of being tools of the capitalists.

If the Pan-American Federation of Labor is really to become a force in South America it will have to give a great deal more time to the cultivation of the laboring men of that continent. There is undoubtedly a large field for the American Federation in helping the workmen of less advanced countries in organizing to secure their just rights and in providing a program for labor in countries like Argentina that will be much less extreme and of more real benefit.

In this brief narrative no effort has been made to cover the entire labor situation of South America. The aim has been only to show, by a few illustrations, that the old days are rapidly passing, and that South Americans and their friends must recognize that labor adjustment is destined to be for some time one of the continent's most important problems.

IS DIVORCE A SOCIAL MENACE?

By GEORGE L. KOEHN

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Causes and effects of the startling increase of marital separations in the United States—A dispassionate study of the figures—Why this modern phenomenon is not necessarily a sign of moral decay

DIVORCE, in fact, is not the destruction of marriage—divorce only reassorts the couples,” is a Shavian defense of divorce as a “sacramental duty” and an instrument for moral elevation.

Equally extreme is the antithetical attitude maintained daily in the articles one reads, in the sermons one hears, and in the conversations one shares. A great emotional outcry is raised on every side against this modern menace of divorce that is “rotting at the core of our civilization and spreading rapidly its disintegrating destruction”—and so on ad infinitum. To substantiate this attitude, some such incomplete generalization as the following is advanced: That in 1867 the divorce rate in the United States was one to every seventeen marriages; in 1906 it was one to twelve, while in 1920 the rate had increased so that fully 10 per cent. of all marriages ended in the divorce court. Stating the proposition in a different manner, there were seven times as many divorces in this country in 1920 as in 1867. Allowing for our increase in population, the gain in divorce is 319 per cent.

It occurred to me that it might prove interesting to study this question from a scientific rather than from an opinionated viewpoint and to make statistics alone outline the issue. Hence, I shall take no high, unwavering moral tone, preaching at the outset an emphatic social ostracism for each and every case of divorce. Rather I prefer to present no thesis upon which to base this discussion.

Often one hears that the war is one cause for this modern phenomenon. But, then,

the mentally sluggish are prone to blame everything that needs explaining on the war. “C'est la guerre” is still the great cry; and the war is such a colossal infamy that it is very hard intellectually to struggle from beneath the weight of its far-reaching psychological after-effects to determine whether the blame for this, that and the other thing is legitimately placed or not. It would be very interesting if we could determine what percentage of the increased divorce rate since the 1916 census was directly attributable to the dissolution of “war-bride marriages,” to divorces between couples of foreign birth (such as American and French unions), or to divorces of couples one of whom was disabled. Unfortunately, no such data are available, so our conclusions must be left in the realm of conjecture.

Another cause referred to as disintegrating to the permanent union of two people is the childless marriage. The argument generally advanced is that two people, both of whom love their children dearly, find it easier to compromise and condone regarding irritants in their intimate life than do the childless. Children lend stability; if there are no children there is less forgiveness and more individual willfulness, and finally divorce.

Reports are as follows: In 1916, of all the divorces reported in the United States, 37 per cent. reported children, 52 per cent. reported no children, 10 per cent. did not report as to children, which is assumed to be equivalent to a report of no children. This means 62 per cent. reported no children, or over three-fifths of the divorces are from childless marriages. Of course,

one may ask whether it is a matter of any grave concern whether two people with only themselves involved stay married or become divorced. And although, in the main, the divorces where families of children are left homeless are those meriting the closest investigation, yet there is surely no certainty that, in a large number of the childless marriages dissolved, the men and women are any happier than before.

ECONOMIC CAUSES

The economic independence of an increasing number of women doubtless is a cause helping to swell the growing divorce rate. I once knew a professor of the old school who was fond of incorporating into one of his lectures upon economics a group of rather unsavory statistics to show that white women in America and abroad are on record for marrying men of every known color, race, age and condition of servitude, while there was not a case on record of a normal white man having married a full-blooded negress; in other words, a woman would debase herself to any extent for a home.

I think we can safely say such a condition of society exists no longer. In the first place, in 1916 approximately 70,000 divorces were granted to women against 30,000 to men; that is, more women sue for divorces than men. There may also be a clue in the percentages relating to causes of divorce. Next to "drunkenness" at 4 per cent., "neglect to provide" at 6 per cent. has the lowest rate, and "cruelty" ranks highest at 33 per cent. Apparently the modern woman knows how to supplement meagre pocket money. She teaches school; she does office work, &c.; she pays for her own clothes and the home in an apartment house. As related to our discussion, these figures may indicate that economic dependence is no longer forcing women into marriage, nor is it keeping them there. Further can the case be substantiated by the records regarding alimony. In 1916, of all divorces granted, 79 per cent. asked no alimony, 15 per cent. asked and received alimony and 4 per cent. were refused alimony. In divorces where women only sued for the divorce about 14,000 were granted alimony, 4,000 were refused and 54,000 did not ask alimony. This seems to prove conclusively that the

~~monetary consideration is a matter of indifference to the American woman either in maintaining or dissolving marriage.~~

Much may be said regarding the growing lack of religious orthodoxy in all classes of society and the bearing it has on increased divorce rates. Individuals not affiliated with any church, and who only attend church to hear the music on Easter, or, of necessity, to be married, naturally are not likely to regard the marriage vows as eternally and sacredly binding or marriage as a sacramental bond. In the 1920 census the population of Portland, Ore., is given as 258,888, of which number 100,346, or 36 per cent., are unclaimed by any church; and I suppose this example may be cited as fairly typical the country over.

Consider the old Puritan attitude toward marriage in contrast to that of our modern agnostic or "free thinker." The average man of today is a cheerful heretic and hedonist. Individual happiness, or, more superficially, sensuous pleasure, in his aim in life. To the Puritan, duty was the lodestar of existence. Duty was paramount; duty to God and to family. Happiness was a secondary and a not always accompanying attribute. God's word was law. Natural man is ever looking for variety; a life of sheer impulse would be the easiest sort to lead. A Puritan, an orthodox Christian, believes in stabilizing the first impulse, as it were; not in being a prey to each passing desire. The implication from the comparison is obvious, I think.

INFLUENCES AT WORK

The final and least definite influences bearing upon divorce which I wish to discuss are those diverse agencies which influence public thought: contemporary literature and drama, the vaudeville stage, the clerical pamphleteer. Personally, I feel not at all sure whether the consistent flippancy of these sources of public stimulation regarding marriage is a cause or an effect of existing conditions. I am inclined to think it a little of both and to liken the situation to the logician's vicious circle.

Undoubtedly, much current fiction bearing upon the subject was written with the earnest desire of the ultra-realists to paint

life as it is (the more sordid, the better for the novelist's purpose.) Much satire is evolved through the musical comedy, the cartoon, and even the humble joke, merely in an attempt to sense the spirit of the hour and to catch the public ear.

Unfortunately, however, there are certain parrot-like individuals who accept, absorb and objectify into action any abstract idea presented for their consideration. Moreover, their microscopic minds being incapable of a telescopic view, they are impervious to the thesis of a book as a unit; instead, they pick out any morsel of thought that arrests their attention, isolate it from its proper environment and proceed to generalize largely thereupon. Hence, statements like the following, gathered at random from current fiction, undoubtedly influence this type of individual most unhealthily:

1. What a ghastly prison-house marriage is—a thing as hostile to the free human spirit as an iron ball and chain!

2. Marriage induces dry rot of the soul.

3. Marriage is like a revolving squirrel cage.

Bedroom farces and musical comedies similar to one listed under the title "Tangereine" (the scene of which is a prison, the principal characters three men held for failure to pay alimony) play to enormous houses every night. The stage and the "movie" constantly impress us with the fact that among certain classes of society it is considered naive and vulgar for husband and wife to consort together exclusively. Because they are constantly making light of marriage and free with divorce, they have long since robbed audiences of

their capacity to be shocked at the mockery of marriage.

On the other hand, the medium that I have chosen to call the clerical pamphleteer has generally proved a negative rather than constructive influence. Often he has been unconsciously flippant in merely a natural and human desire to be a bit original and striking. "How to Be Happy Though Married" is not the most fortunate subject imaginable in a serious discussion of the ills of divorce for the benefit of serious-minded people. One well-meaning divine assured the world, through a highly mystic and nebulous dissertation upon divorce, that marriage as a fact existed before birth and continues after death—an assertion which does not throw a particularly illuminating light on any specific problem of divorce. The sort of moralizing found in such pamphlets as the recent one entitled "Against Divorce" seems to me to be as thoroughly pernicious as the scintillating, hard flippancy of much of our current

DIVORCES AND MARRIAGES

This table shows the ratio of divorces to marriages in forty-seven States and the District of Columbia:

State.	Divorces.	Marriages.
1 Nevada	1	1.54
2 Oregon	1	2.52
3 Washington	1	4.01
4 Idaho	1	4.81
5 Wyoming	1	5.34
6 Oklahoma	1	5.40
7 Montana	1	5.46
8 California	1	5.54
9 Arizona	1	5.92
10 Indiana	1	5.94
11 Texas	1	6.36
12 Missouri	1	6.36
13 New Hampshire ..	1	6.40
14 Arkansas	1	6.56
15 Iowa	1	6.90
16 Ohio	1	4.91
17 Kansas	1	6.93
18 Illinois	1	7.26
19 Michigan	1	7.52
20 Utah	1	7.61
21 Nebraska	1	7.63
22 Kentucky	1	7.77
23 Colorado	1	8.63
24 New Mexico	1	8.66
25 Florida	1	8.73
26 Rhode Island ..	1	9.14
27 Maine	1	9.36
28 South Dakota ..	1	9.54
29 Tennessee	1	9.62
30 Delaware	1	9.70
31 North Dakota ..	1	10.24
32 Wisconsin	1	10.65
33 Alabama	1	11.13
34 Virginia	1	11.30
35 Minnesota	1	11.65
36 Vermont	1	12.59
37 Mississippi	1	12.63
38 Louisiana	1	13.43
39 Pennsylvania ...	1	14.46
40 Massachusetts ..	1	14.71
41 Connecticut	1	15.67
42 West Virginia ..	1	20.32
43 Maryland	1	20.35
44 Georgia	1	23.05
45 New Jersey	1	26.66
46 New York	1	29.81
47 North Carolina ..	1	31.94
48 District of Col ..	1	91.34

fiction and contemporary drama.

The question whether divorce is a social evil and a menace can be answered not by ranting about the destruction of corrupt civilizations because of broken marriage vows, but by investigating what becomes of the children of divorced parents. Every one will agree that the family is the basis of society. Suppose the children of divorced parents were found to grow up as healthily, as happily and as well educated as those from united, peaceful homes. Suppose that the economic failures,

the delinquents, the criminals, were found to come not preponderantly from divorced parents, but from cases of desertion, or from ministers' families, for instance, or from the unwholesome, poverty-stricken home where there are too many children with too little bread. Then divorce might perhaps be termed merely a harmless social phenomenon attendant upon a complex and advanced civilization. It is with the statistics relative thereto that I rest my case.

An investigation of some of the leading State-aided institutions of Oregon having charge of delinquent, wayward or homeless children results in the little table on the next page, showing the marked effect of divorce on our so-called boy and girl problem.

The record of the Portland (Oregon) Court of Domestic Relations (Juvenile Court) is also significant. Of all the boys and girls coming before that court in the first eight months of 1921, 254 cases, or about 30 per cent., came from divorced parents. (If the cases where the parents are not living together were also considered, the rate would be nearly 80 per cent.)

The record of these institutions, indicating as it does the large percentage of juvenile disorder due to broken homes, cannot be considered as extraordinary, for it is fairly representative of conditions in the rest of the country. And though

these statistics are incomplete, they may at least serve one purpose—that of indicating that the facts of divorce and its attendant evils are not so simply disposed of as a cursory thought might indicate.

One paradox of modern society is the fact that the most excessive divorce rate in the world is in America, a country most advanced in culture, prosperity and intellectual liberality, all considered desirable attributes. America leads all the nations, with a rate

of 112 to every 100,000 quoted in the 1916 census. Bishop Moreland of Sacramento claims 141 for the present time. Nevada stands first in the list of comparative divorce rates for the States, her rate being 652. Five other Western States—Montana, Arizona, Oregon, Washington and California—follow with the highest divorce rates.

In 1916 there were five counties in the United States in which the number of divorces exceeded the number of marriages. In 1921 four counties in Oregon alone laid claim to more divorces than marriages. In Clackamas County, for example, with an exception of 1917, the divorces have outnumbered the marriages for the last five years. In 1919 there were 251 marriages in that county, with 366 divorces. In 1920 there were 276 marriages and 405 divorces. In Clatsop County, in 1919, 217 marriages are recorded and 300 divorces. In 1920, 226

DIVORCES BY YEARS

Bishop Moreland of Sacramento gives the following figures relative to the number of divorces in the United States and the number of persons affected:

Year.	Divorces.	Year.	Divorces.
1901	61,698	1911	94,622
1902	62,109	1912	100,927
1903	65,263	1913	106,055
1904	67,086	1914	110,759
1905	68,901	1915	115,879
1906	72,786	1916	114,036
1907	77,636	1917	120,243
1908	81,579	1918	124,928
1909	85,199	1919	129,496
1910	91,638	1920 (est.) ..	132,753

Last decade. 733,895 Pres. decade. 1,149,696

Total divorces, 20 years..... 1,883,591
 Divorced persons..... 3,767,182
 Minor children named in decrees... 1,318,514
 Adult children affected..... 500,000
 "Damaged goods" in 20 years..... 5,585,696

NET DIVORCE RATES

State.	Net Rate.
1 Nevada	652
2 Montana	413
3 Arizona	358
4 Oregon	277
5 Washington ..	239
6 California	230
7 New Hampshire	227
8 Indiana	223
9 Texas	221
10 Michigan	221
11 Arkansas	220
12 Missouri	202
13 Idaho	196
14 New Mexico....	191
15 Wyoming	186
16 Illinois	183
17 Ohio	176
18 Rhode Island..	176
19 Oklahoma	170
20 Iowa	168
21 Florida	163
22 Utah	158
23 Kansas	155
24 Vermont	153
25 Nebraska	144
26 Kentucky	140
27 Connecticut ..	130
28 Tennessee	128
29 Colorado	128
30 Louisiana	115
31 Delaware	114
32 Minnesota	112
33 Maine	108
34 Mississippi	105
35 Massachusetts..	101
36 Alabama	101
37 So. Dakota	95
38 Virginia	92
39 Wisconsin	89
40 Maryland	87
41 No. Dakota	75
42 Pennsylvania...	74
43 West Virginia..	69
44 Georgia	54
45 New Jersey....	54
46 New York.....	44
47 No. Carolina...	30
48 Dist. of Colum'a	15

marriages and 322 divorces, or three divorces to every two marriages. In Columbia County, in 1920, 75 marriages occurred and 128 divorces, or a rate of nearly two to one in favor of divorces.

In the large urban centres the divorce rates are high, though the divorces do not

DIVORCES AND HOMELESS CHILDREN

Name of Institution.	Per Cent. of Charges Coming From Divorced Parents.
Boys' and Girls' Aid Society of Oregon	15.6
Florence Crittenden Refuge Home	18.0
House of the Good Shepherd..	31.2
Salvation Army Rescue and Maternity Home	33.0
The Christie Home for Orphan Girls	35.0
Pacific Coast Rescue and Pro- tective Society	35.8
Oregon State Industrial School for Girls	59.3

exceed the number of marriages. In three of the leading Pacific Coast cities the divorce rate varies from 1 to 5 in Los Angeles to 1 to 2 in Seattle and Portland. A steady increase in the divorce rate is noted. The biennial report of the Secretary of State for Oregon (1917-1918) quoted 3,579 divorce suits filed, while the next report (1919-1920) from the same office quoted 7,607, or nearly double the number of the preceding report. These figures are but typical of existing conditions in a large number of our States today.

Japan has an annual rate of 109, likewise exceedingly high. In striking contrast are the statistics from such countries as Norway and Finland, where in 1904 the rate was 8 and 5, respectively, per 100,000. (I might mention that in 1900, in the United States, the rate was 73, in 1906, 84, and in 1920, 141 per 100,000.)

In England and France, where religious sentiment runs high against divorce and the Church does not sanction remarriage, the rate is also very low. In England only about 2 per 100,000 in 1904 secured absolute divorce; in France, 28. Germany, too, had the comparatively low rate of 18; in 1905 it was 19. The "hausfrau," little more than a domestic drudge, had no voice in the economic, social or

intimate affairs in her own home. Hence, she worried along somehow, unhappy possibly, but likewise undivorced. Such a condition of society is not ideal, and in sharp contrast the situation in America again stands forth. There is the American woman with the vote, with easily acquired economic freedom, with intellectual enlightenment and advanced ideas of democracy and sex equality—a desirable picture—and yet the divorce rate is higher here than in any other place in the world; and, roughly estimated, 37 per cent. more women than men sue for divorce. Well may one hesitate and ponder before issuing a too superficial and hasty judgment upon this so-called modern menace.

DIVORCE IN JAPAN

If I should attempt to moralize at all, it would be with the example of Japan before me. She has an exceedingly high rate of divorce now—previously it was even higher. In 1897 the rate per 100,000 was 227. In 1903 there were 140 to every 100,000. The latest statistics give 109. The new code in Japan, introduced in 1898, has tended to reduce somewhat the frequency of divorce, but even now there is one divorce to every six marriages.

There are ten distinct grounds for divorce in Japan; moreover, the courts give legal recognition to the old Japanese custom of divorce by mutual consent, and the statistics on that line are appalling. During the six-year period from 1899 to 1905, the records show that the courts granted 1,430 divorces, while 445,890 divorces by mutual consent were recognized during the same period. Furthermore, 11.2 per cent. of the marriages are dissolved after a period of from six to twelve months, 18 per cent. from one to two years, 12.8 per cent. from two to three years. Seemingly, the largest number of marriages were scarcely given a fair trial. To me such legislation as the foregoing seems very wrong. G. K. Chesterton, in his paradoxical style, remarks that divorce is not separation, but remarriage. I believe that if it were impossible to remarry for two or three years after a divorce was obtained, many thousands of needless divorces would be prevented.

Likewise one readily sees the overwhelming results when a marriage can be

dissolved by mutual consent (incompatibility is what we call it in America). In Japan during six years there were 444,460 *more* divorces from mutual consent than those from the ten other distinct grounds for divorce combined. The ambiguous term incompatibility is elastic enough to stretch to any lengths the plaintiff desires, and to cover likewise those innumerable cases wherein both agree to disagree and then amicably decide to employ "incompatibility" as convenient grounds. Fewer causes permissible for divorce would undoubtedly lessen thoughtless marriages and prevent needless divorces. The modern tendency experimentally to try marriage on like an attractive coat, just to see if it fits, would be effectively inhibited.

UNIFORM LAW PROPOSED

Following is the text of the proposed act to establish a uniform divorce law in the various States, published in the report of the Committee on Publication of the Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, recently held at Buffalo, which I believe merits serious consideration:

An act to establish a law uniform with the laws of other States relative to divorce procedure and divorce from the bond of marriage. Be it enacted, &c.:

Section 1. No divorce shall be granted for any cause arising prior to the residence of the petitioner or defendant in this State which was not a ground for divorce in the State where the cause arose.

Section 2. No person shall be entitled to a divorce for any cause arising in this State who has not had actual residence in this State for at least one year next before bringing suit for divorce, with a bona fide intention of making this State his or her permanent home.

Section 3. No person shall be entitled to a divorce for any cause arising out of this State unless the petitioner or defendant shall have resided within this State for at least two years next before bringing suit for divorce, with a bona fide intention of making this State his or her permanent home.

Section 4. No person shall be entitled to a divorce unless the defendant shall have been personally served with process, if without this State, or with personal notice duly authenticated, if out of this State, or unless the defendant shall have entered an appearance in the case; but if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court that the petitioner does not know the address or the residence of the defendant, and has not been able to ascertain either, after reasonable and due inquiry and search continued for one year, the court or Judge in vacation may authorize notice by publication of the pendency of the petition

for divorce to be given in manner provided by law.

Section 5. No divorce shall be granted solely upon default, nor solely upon admissions by the pleadings, nor except upon trial before the court in open session.

Section 6. After divorce either party may marry again; but in cases where notice has been given by publication only, and the defendant has not appeared, no decree for divorce shall become final or operative until six months after trial and decision.

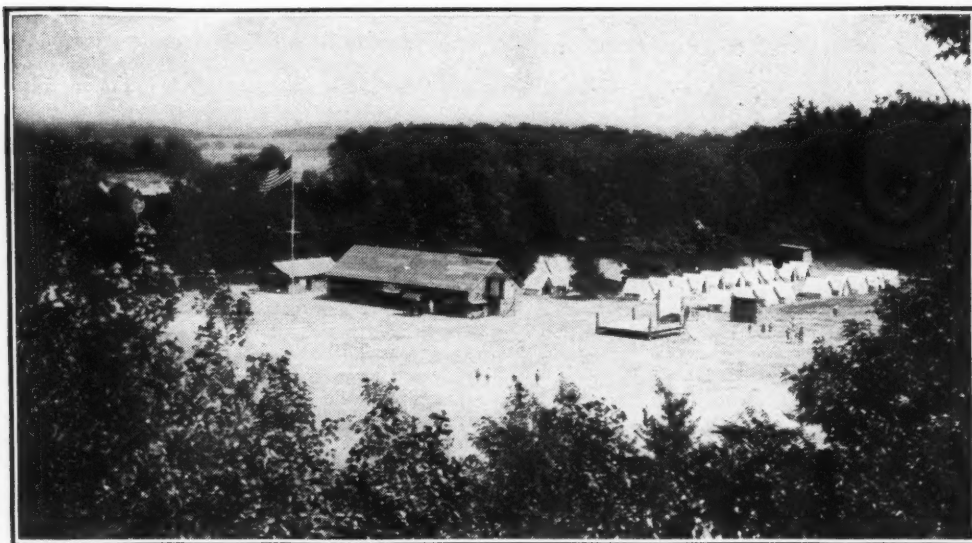
Section 7. Wherever the word "divorce" occurs in this act it shall be deemed to mean divorce from the bond of marriage.

Divorce from the bond of marriage shall be granted for the following causes arising after marriage: Adultery, extreme cruelty, habitual drunkenness, or the confirmed habit of intoxication, whether arising from the use of alcoholic drinks or of drugs; conviction of felony, with sentence of imprisonment to a State prison or penitentiary, and continuous desertion for at least — years. Divorce from the bond of marriage shall not be granted for any other cause arising after marriage.

Unoriginal as the statement may be, marriage is fundamentally a social contract, and hence entails a certain responsibility toward society. This fact is substantiated by one of the State Supreme Courts in the case of *Westfall vs. Westfall* (197 Pacific, 271). And in a famous Oregon case of but a few months ago, the State Supreme Court held as follows:

The contract of marriage entered into between Willard Hawley and Marjorie Hawley cannot be canceled at the will of either or both of them. The sovereign State of Oregon has an interest in that contract. It is the policy of the State not to destroy, but to preserve, the status of marriage. The Commonwealth of the State of Oregon regards marriage as right and divorce as wrong, except for certain designated reasons established in court by clear and satisfactory proof.

If the idealistic romanticism of story-book love does not materialize in an everyday marriage on a limited income, that is no just cause for a divorce. Many men and women find themselves in unprofitable and uncongenial business or fraternal relationships, but they never think of breaking contracts and quitting at the crucial period. They put into the relationship the best they have, hoping to reap just returns. That would be, to my mind, the healthiest, most constructive attitude to assume in the countless numbers of ordinary marriages that end unnecessarily in the divorce court.



Glimpse of a section of Camp Roosevelt

CAMP ROOSEVELT: BUILDER OF BOYS

*Unique enterprise of the Chicago Board of Education for instilling
the finer qualities of manhood into boys at a Summer camp*

HOSTS of tents dotting a wide plain—tents of canvas, with gay pennons fluttering from them. And all through this vast tented city an ordered bustle and confusion—brown-belted officers hastening hither and thither; companies of marching boys; bands whose strident blare and rattling thunder of the drums re-echo in the distance. Long do the visitors look, and wide-eyed, at the picture unfolding before them—the making of better boys and future men at Camp Roosevelt.

The Chicago Board of Education has the distinction of being the first educational institution in the country to take drastic action which will lead to the development of our growing boys into loyal American citizens. Educational institutions as a whole realize that although civics, patriotism and love of American institutions are taught to schoolboys, the boys grow up with but a detached feeling about the whole thing. The teaching does not strike home to the individual.

The courses pursued in the schoolroom have been tried, improved upon and are still found wanting. Another course, therefore, was adopted by the Chicago Board of Education. This was to bring hundreds of boys together in the Summer vacation months, out in the open, in a great school organized on military lines, where the sight of Old Glory waving from the top of the flagstaff stirs the youth's enthusiasm, where the blare of the bugle is music to his ears, and where his blood leaps at the sight of a column of marching cadets.

The camp is named in honor of that great friend of the boys, Theodore Roosevelt, and the high ideals which he represented are the underlying principles of Camp Roosevelt. It is ideally located, sixty-five miles from Chicago, near Laporte, Ind., in a well-chosen spot where splendid hospital, mess, educational and recreational facilities afford the boys every opportunity for fun and improvement.

CAMP ROOSEVELT: BUILDER OF BOYS

To build better boys—boys who are better in body, mind and morals for having spent a few weeks in the pleasant atmosphere of camp in company with hundreds of other good, democratic American lads, and under a supervision at once kindly and firm—that is the Camp Roosevelt Plan.

Though the term "boy building" gives at least a general definition of the underlying purpose of Camp Roosevelt, it cannot give more than a suggestion of the methods employed in building better boys. The ways and means for reaching the goal which Camp Roosevelt has set for itself are complicated. A machine has been built up, however, that functions smoothly and efficiently in making good, strong boys out of weak ones, democratic boys out of juvenile snobs, and studious, attentive boys out of harum-scarum scatterbrains.

How does this marvelous machine work? It is difficult to explain the technique of the Roosevelt Plan. It is much easier to observe the benefits than to classify the method. Anybody who has ever observed the incoming trainloads of raw recruits disembarking at the Roosevelt station, and who has seen these same recruits returning, bronzed, disciplined, seasoned and alert, at the end of a period of Camp Roosevelt training, will subscribe to the statement that the benefits are obvious and remarkable. To put the critical finger upon the process of this unusual redemption is next to impossible.

In the first place, Camp Roosevelt does it all by system. The camp is thoroughly organized and oiled for smooth running. From the minute the boy steps off the

train until he steps back on it, he is under the care and supervision of an organization that is efficient without being mechanical—an organization that moves the lad along through his period of training, but refuses to regard him as a mere boyish automaton. The efficiency is there, but the human touch is also present.



MAJOR F. L. BEALS
Commandant of Camp Roosevelt, whose remarkable qualities of leadership have made the camp a success

At the head of the camp, and constantly directing its activities, is Major F. L. Beals, U. S. A., the commanding officer and founder. This man is himself a boy lover and a boy builder. He understands boys, being pretty much of a boy himself at heart, in spite of the manifold duties which engross his time and thought. Major Beals occupies, during the Winter months, the position of Professor of Military Science and Tactics and Supervisor of Physical Education in the Chicago public schools, and so keeps in constant touch with boy psychology.

Under Major Beals is an efficient military organization, consisting, first, of commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the army detailed for the special duty by the War Department, and including, finally, the leaders among the boys themselves, who have won promotion through merit. The camp is conducted in strict military fashion, so that each boy is constantly accounted for and is under constant, though not obtrusive, supervision, impersonal as far as the boy is concerned, and never seeming to interfere with his personal privileges and freedom. Order and discipline prevail just as at West Point, though less exactly. The boys rise at reveille, and their day's activities are regulated with military promptness and

precision. The individual is thus required to submerge his individuality for the common good, and this fact alone eliminates much friction, for it is the individualist among boys who causes most of the trouble in boydom.

Democracy is one of the first lessons at the camp. A sense of responsibility and obligation is easily Lesson No. 2. Cleanliness is a camp virtue soon learned. Obedience comes to be a natural qualification in a military atmosphere. Alertness goes along with the training, because the dullard has to overcome his dullness in order to keep step with his fellows. Intolerance for authority is soon displaced by an admiration for good leadership.

Freedom from nagging is another step in boy building. Too many boys are compelled to endure unnecessary reprimands, unmeant suggestions and insincere attempts at discipline. The result, in many cases, is a bewildered boy who would like to be good and obedient if his parents would only adopt a consistent policy in their treatment of him. To be praised one minute and punished the next is the daily fate of hundreds of boys who are the sons of parents who fondly imagine that they are doing a good part by their offspring. To the boy who is overmanaged or undermanaged at home the camp is a godsend. Here he has an opportunity to see what he can do under firm but sensible supervision, and the manner in which the youngsters develop is one of the joys in observing the work of the camp.

That the boys react favorably to this treatment is shown by their eagerness to return a second and third Summer. A few extraordinary cases among the boys give an insight into the camp spirit. One young lad came to the camp and asked to be enrolled. One sleeve hanging limply at his side loudly proclaimed his crippled condition. Major Beals barely had time to glance at the empty sleeve before the boy begged to be given a chance to enter in spite of this deficiency. "But you can't drill, you will not be able to take part in the manoeuvres with the other boys, and you'll feel like an outcast," said Major Beals. "Oh, no, I'll do just as they do, only I won't carry a gun." And so, for the last three seasons, this one-armed boy has marched along with the hundreds of others,

enjoying camp life to the utmost and learning the principles of good citizenship and democracy along with the rest.

One boy came to ask for admittance. When Major Beals espied him, he wrote his request on a sheet of paper. He was stone deaf. Major Beals told him that he would be unable to hear the commands, that he would upset his company because he would fall behind. But the boy begged for a chance. Standing in line with his company, he made a splendid figure, and as each command rang out, his companions on either side directed him by a nudge or a look, and no outsider watching him could tell for an instant that this eager, deaf boy had not heard a single order.

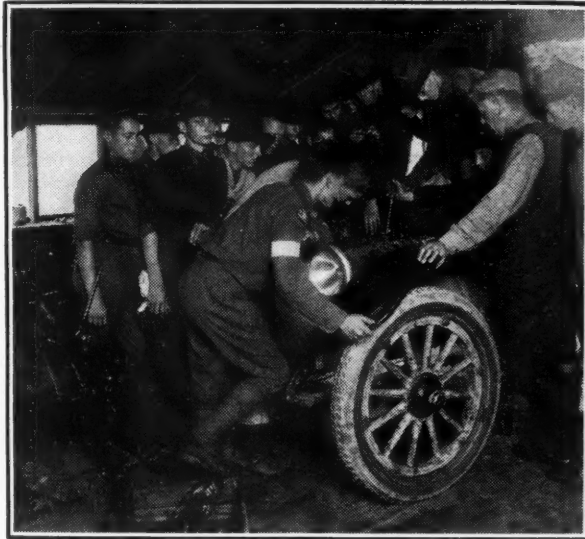
One of the secrets of boy building is bound up in that simple formula—keep busy. The boys are kept pleasantly busy. There is nothing of drudgery about the camp. Far from that, every day has its full quota of pleasure and diversion, but even the energetic youth does not find time hanging dull and heavy on his hands. There is always something in progress to engage the energy of the boy. If studies are not keeping him busy, there is the drill or the hike. Mess call, with the long line of boys getting their army "chow," takes time. There are swimming classes, athletics of various kind, band concerts, moving picture shows, programs at the Y. M. C. A. hut, special drills and reviews, and parades. All day long there is something to demand the interested attention of every boy, giving very little time for mischief. Nightfall and shortly afterward, the welcome notes of "Tattoo" find the boys pleasantly fatigued and ready for the sound and dreamless sleep that can come only to the tired, healthy boy, living a vigorous life in the great outdoors.

The camp is divided into three divisions—the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or military; the Summer school division, including the Seventh and Eighth Grades and all high school subjects, and the Junior Camp for younger boys, to meet the differing needs of the many boys who attend. The season is divided into two periods of three weeks each, beginning on July 5. Boys may attend either one or both of these periods. The charges are \$25 for each three-week period, \$64 for the entire

CAMP ROOSEVELT: BUILDER OF BOYS

six-week Summer school course, including bed and board and instruction. Boys 12 years of age and over will be accepted upon application to the Board of Education, 460 South State Street, Chicago, under whose auspices the camp is conducted, with Major Beals in direct command.

Group of boys at Camp Roosevelt intent upon a lesson in the mechanism and operation of an automobile. The instruction includes military drill, athletics and a wide range of physical training



RUSSIAN FAMINE STUDIES FROM THE FIELD

Vivid descriptions written by special workers of the American Relief Administration in Russia—The famine situation in the Ukraine, in the German Volga Communes, in the provinces and and the Tartar Republics

THE American Relief Administration Bulletin, issued in March, contains within its sixty pages, crowded with reports, maps, tables and first-hand descriptions of the gigantic drama still inexorably unrolling under the Russian sky, a mass of interesting facts depicting the situation in the famine districts in midwinter. The report of Secretary Hoover to President Harding (see April CURRENT HISTORY) is printed in full at the beginning of the volume. The famine situation on the Volga, in the Tartar Republic of Kazan, in the Bashkir district between Ufa and Orenburg in Central Eastern Russia; in Samara, the large, famine-stricken department of the Southeast, in the German Volga communes, in the Soviet Ukrainian territory, and far to the south in the Crimean area, is described by field workers of the American Relief Administration. The Bulletin also includes

a lengthy report by Henry Beeuwkes, Medical Director of the Administration, which covers all American medical activities in Russia, including Moscow and Petrograd. Supplementary reports, surveys and charts show the process of American famine and refugee relief in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and even in Austria, Steiermark and Carinthia.

FAMINE IN THE UKRAINE

The article by Lincoln Hutchinson, entitled "Observations in the Ukraine," is one of several vivid documents from field workers in the famine district. Mr. Hutchinson declares that the situation in certain parts of the Soviet Ukraine is as serious as in the Volga region. Salient passages of this survey follow:

The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, which extends, roughly speaking, from the Don to the Dniester, and from the Black Sea to about lati-

tude 52 degrees, includes a total area of 178,000 square miles. The population is approximately 25,000,000, of which about 3,500,000 are Jews. The total number of children up to and including the age of 15 is 11,100,000. The cities which I visited were Kharkov, Alexandrovsk, Ekaterinoslav, Elizabetgrad, Odessa, Vinnitsa, Zhitomir and Kiev. Wherever possible, at each of these places, in addition to gathering statistical and other statements from the local authorities, I visited receiving stations for refugees, children's homes, hospitals and near-by villages where conditions were reported to be bad.

The statistical information given out by the authorities is almost wholly unreliable. Statements made by the Central Moscow authorities, the Central Ukrainian authorities and the local Government authorities differ enormously. * * * General statements as to total requirements differ almost as widely as estimates of crops. All the "official" ones, except those made by the Central Government in Moscow, appear to me to be absurdly high. Fear of tax demands by local, Ukrainian and Moscow authorities leads not only to understatement of resources, but also to exaggeration of needs. * * *

With a consumption requirement of 556,000,000 poods (a Russian pood is equivalent to about forty pounds), and a probable supply of 700,000,000, there would appear to be a surplus of 144,000,000 poods. Of this, according to the Kharkov authorities, 51,000,000 poods have been delivered to Moscow as part of the Ukrainian contribution to the needs of Russia, leaving 93,000,000 poods surplus for the Ukraine itself. * * * In spite of the probability, however, that the Ukraine as a whole has surplus food, all the evidence points to a serious shortage in certain parts. The Governments affected are Donetz, Zaporozh, Ekaterinoslav, Nikolaievsk and Odessa. Their total population is 9,600,000, but neither all the uyezds (districts), of each Government nor the entire population of any of them is in distress. All the information given me by local officials is undoubtedly colored by a desire to avoid taxation and to get outside assistance. * * * The official statements give a total population requiring assistance of 3,700,000, including 1,660,000 children; but for reasons already stated, my "guess" would be that these figures should be scaled down about 50 per cent., giving, say, 2,000,000 total, including 900,000 children. *Whatever the actual figures may be, there can be no question that over a very considerable area conditions are as serious as in any part of the Volga Basin.*

Conditions are most serious along the Black Sea coast, partly because the drought was most serious there, but also because this section is furthest removed from the regions of normal crops in the North. Seaport cities are getting some supplies in by water, but apparently they do not penetrate far into the neighboring country districts. If reports which came to me are true, conditions similar to these in the "famine area" of the Ukraine also exist in the Crimea. * * *

In one respect the famine area of the Ukraine is in a more serious situation than that of the Volga. The drought followed four or five years during which the peasants were ravaged by a succession of wars, insurrections, "pogroms," bandit

raids and other disturbances which were far more serious than anything of this nature that happened on the Volga. Their domestic animals have been reduced by these successive operations, plus the drought, more seriously than anywhere in Russia. For the Ukraine, as a whole, this reduction probably reaches 50 per cent.; in the five Governments of the famine area I doubt whether the peasants now have left more than 25 per cent. of their normal number of animals. But, whatever the causes may be and whatever the exact figures, it appears to be a fact that in the Ukrainian famine area (except in Ekaterinoslav) there has been far less Autumn planting or Autumn plowing for Spring planting than I found anywhere on the Volga.

In the non-famine area, several of the Governments, especially Kharkov, Poltava, Kremenchug and Kiev, complain of a shortage of food supplies, but it is probable that these claims are made for political purposes. Volhynia and Podolia admit a considerable surplus. Supplies other than food, such as medical and hospital equipment and clothing, are lacking there, as elsewhere, in the Ukraine and Russia. There is less epidemic disease among the native population, but they all have a serious problem in the refugees in large numbers, and some of the Governments, notably Podolia and Volhynia, are handling it in admirable fashion. They state that they could, and would, willingly, double or treble the number they are caring for if they had the necessary equipment of medicines and drugs, clothing and bedclothes. They already have the hospitals, beds and food.

The same investigator reported on conditions in the German communes on the Volga. These communes were settled by Germans in the time of Catherine the Great and to a great extent have retained their national character. They are being fed chiefly through the efforts of the Volga Relief Society of Portland, Ore., and the Central States Volga Relief Society of Lincoln, Neb., which have supplied \$145,000 for this purpose.

IN STAVROPOL

A more intimate study is given by Ronald H. Allen, following an inspection in Stavropol district in December, 1921. This is a vivid account, opening a series of "Famine Studies." Mr. Allen writes:

There is a candle burning for the soul of the American Relief Administration in the village church of Old Benaradka, due to a Good Samaritan act performed by the Cadillac one afternoon last Autumn, but there was no other glimmer to our organization when I drove into the place last Wednesday. Favored with three kitchens and a high allocation, the local committee had been careless enough to run out of products at the close of business Monday, so that no feeding could take place Tuesday and Wednesday. I

met the sledges coming in with fresh supplies just as I was leaving. The committee advanced several excuses, but in my opinion the kitchens ran out of food because the committee was not farsighted enough to send for a fresh stock in sufficient time. I let it be known that I took a most serious view of any interruption in the feeding.

In none of the other villages I visited was the work of our Stavropol inspector, Mr. Klutchnikoff, marred by indifferent functioning on the part of local personnel. Examination reveals that the territory is administered not only with vigor and intelligence, but also with some conscientious personal interest, and on the basis of results I have viewed, Mr. Klutchnikoff is highly to be commended for the way he is representing us in the Uyezd (district) to which he is assigned.

Counting one kitchen which was to be operating as soon as kettles could be installed, we now have 105 kitchens working in the Stavropol Uyezd which are feeding the full original allocation of 23,000 children. This number is slightly under 68 per cent. of the total child population in the villages where feeding is being carried on. Mr. Klutchnikoff has used his judgment about the proportion of children to be fed in a particular village, in some instances from 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. being admitted to our kitchens, and in others more badly off as many as 85 per cent. and even 90 per cent. In all the villages I visited an attempt had been made to select the neediest children up to the allowed number, after all the children in the village had been examined, either by such medical expert as the country afforded, or by house-to-house canvass, organized under the direction of the local committee.

Most of the kitchens in this region are operating on the cafeteria plan—that is, after the first sitting, the kitchens are kept open until a certain hour, and children are served as they come. Upon taking up the question of dividing up the children into sections which should be fed at certain appointed hours, I found that clocks and watches were so scarce among the peasants that the introduction into our work of any system involving the element of time was impossible. * * *

The most unexpected thing that struck me on this trip was the "before and after" effect already plainly observable in respect to the children. When first I visited this region, although it was then late Autumn only, the village streets were quiet, and the children, aged beyond their tender years by privation, had the same look in their eyes as the dogs who could not even sniff a bare bone without wearing all outward signs of a guilty conscience. Now, however, in spite of the fact that it is Winter, I find the future muzhik, decked out in parental paraphernalia and furniture draperies, sliding down hill and enjoying all the fresh-air romp that a child 100 per cent. alive should enjoy.

With the parents the case is different, and I fear they are getting down to the bottom of the basket. My journey carried me through considerable woodland, which was mostly pine, but with a sprinkling of oak trees here and there. I did not see a single oak that was not stripped

of its bark as high as six feet from the ground, even at points midway between villages. This bark the peasants mix with chaff from a plant resembling our thistle and with clay, pound it into flour and call it bread. I would name it "slow suicide," though in some cases I am sure it is a quick finish.

Except between certain points on the post roads with which we are familiar and which are near Samara, motor transport must be abandoned during the Winter. The snow brings into existence an entirely new system of roads connecting interior points, and they are roads which spell impossibility to automobiles. It is possible in some of the villages to find horses which can average forty versts in one day, provided they are not called on to do it three or four times a week. The sledges, on the other hand, are small, uncomfortable and entirely unsuitable for transporting three men with provisions and fodder.

IN SOUTHERN SAMARA

A similar close-view verbal photograph of the famine conditions in Southern Samara—one of the worst afflicted governments—including the district of Pugachov, is given by the Relief Administration's field worker, Will Shafroth. The experiences of this observer follow:

After returning from a three-day trip by automobile into the region south of Samara, I am glad to report that there is still some hope that the majority of the population will live through the Winter, and will stay on the land, ready to plant in the Spring if they receive seed grain. Some of the places I touched are representative of the worst conditions in Samara Gubernia, with the exception of a certain part in the east and south of Pugachov Uyezd. In all the villages visited, American kitchens were functioning, with the exception of Marievka, where kitchens were organized and the President of the committee was at the time in Samara for products. While in September only 50 or 60 per cent. of the people in the country were eating substitutes, now it is practically all the peasants have to eat. Only a quarter to an eighth of this substitute bread is flour; the rest is composed of leaves and bark, potatoes, grass and not infrequently clay or dung. But the encouraging part is that in some way they find enough of these substitutes to keep them alive, and the outlook is that not less than 75 per cent. of these hungry peasants will continue to keep alive during the Winter. The death rate is mounting every month, but I found it for November, from the best available estimates, to average less than 3½ per cent. of the present population. The birth rate is only about one-half of this.

Though there is much typhus in the City of Samara, in the country visited there were very few cases of fleck typhus, the most deadly variety. There was some typhoid, a great deal of dysentery and much scurvy. Of the six hospitals formerly existing in Pugachov Uyezd, three have been closed entirely, one reduced from twenty-five to six beds, one from seventy-five to ten beds and the one in the Town of Pugachov

from 250 beds to 100. The causes of this are, first, the lack of food for patients; second, lack of personnel, because they receive no food; third, lack of wood for heating, and, fourth, lack of drugs and medicines. The first and last causes we can alleviate if not entirely remove, but our efforts will be useless unless the Government is willing to take the responsibility for caring for the personnel and providing food.

Transport conditions are the worst phase of the general situation. Of the towns within fifty versts of a warehouse base, all committees replied that, given the products, they would manage to bring them to the kitchens during the whole Winter. The towns 90 to 100 versts from the nearest railway point, however, are in worse shape, and they do not know how they will get their January supplies. So far they have pulled through by carrying two weeks' supply at a time, but their animals are dying every day and they have no fodder even for those left. In Mosti, for instance, a village of 3,000, there remain but nine camels and eight horses. Of cows which may also be used for wagon transport, there are 150, but these are killed at a rate of ten a day. Moreover, there is a great difficulty in securing the few animals that do remain. They are in private hands, and the owners refuse to go without pay. The village Soviets have absolutely no money and the Uyezd governments have practically none. But the Gubernia insists that this cost must be taken care of locally. It is my plan to establish as soon as possible two bases in Pugachov Uyezd to which products will be supplied from Samara by truck or horse transportation for a total of 30,000 or 40,000 rations per month.

The American Relief Administration kitchens are functioning exceedingly well. Everywhere there is much gratitude for the food which is being given, and everywhere there are requests to increase the number of portions. In the places visited 35 to 50 per cent. of the children were being fed, and their need was very apparent. Kitchen reports are being kept practically everywhere, menus are on hand in every kitchen, and lists of children are being checked against daily in addition to numbers being cut off each day from the cards of the children. The most remarkable thing, however, is that the children are eating on the place. Everywhere I found stolovaias (kitchens) filled with children and with mothers who had brought their small ones, and at the door an "officer of the day" who prevented the food from being carried away from the kitchen. * * *

From 25 to 40 per cent. of the people left their villages, in the region visited, and became refugees. Occasionally we passed such people on the road. But the number has greatly declined in November, the greatest tide having been in September. One of the most discouraging sights is the number of deserted houses to be seen in every village. A significant thing is the answer several times given to me when I asked why the number of refugees was smaller in November. This answer was to the effect that now that their children are being fed the people thought they could live through the Winter. I repeat that there is still hope in the situation,

but we must increase the number of children we are feeding.

IN THE TARTAR REPUBLIC

Of all the human documents given, none surpasses in interest the diary of J. Rives Childs, describing his inspection trip through the Tartar Republic of Kazan between Dec. 9 and Dec. 23. The full diary, which the editors of *CURRENT HISTORY* have had the privilege of reading, brings the grim tragedy now being played in Russia close to the heart and imagination of the reader. The extracts published in the Administration Bulletin follow:

By the light of a flickering oil lamp the volost committee of Umatova was presently assembled, and with it a curious crowd of onlookers, of old and young and of both sexes. The members of the committee were sturdy, God-fearing, honest-appearing peasants, with dark brown skins and beards which seemed to have been washed in the soil. When one asked them a question so simple as how the children were selected to receive the American food, they screwed up their eyes and wrinkled their foreheads in the effort to arrive in their minds at the answer. To other questions they would lift up their direct, frank glances and with the innocence of a child, reply: "Comrade, how can one say?" To the question concerning the percentage of the population which might live through the Winter on their present resources there was no hesitation in replying: "Not more than 3 per cent. * * *"

The next morning [in Makulovo], as we made our breakfast from the food which we were carrying with us, the door to the peasant's home was opened and the figure of a middle-aged priest appeared in the doorway, who, after first having made the sign of the cross several times, strode across the room to greet us. He introduced himself as the manager of the American kitchen in the village. He reminded me of the kindly faced and very human looking Greek Catholic priests I used to be acquainted with in Serbia. We invited him to our breakfast, but although we had learned from him in the few minutes' conversation we had previously had, that so far as food was concerned, he was no better off than any of the peasants in the village, he declined on the plea that he was fasting for religious observance. The kitchen which was found in his home was a model one. Later we entered one of the homes in the village, where we found a mother and three children who had nothing to eat but the black "lebeda," a substitute for bread made of weeds, which contrives to prolong life for a while. Only one of her children was receiving American food, as conditions are so bad generally that it is rarely possible to include more than one child of a family in the American kitchen in a village. Before leaving I gave the priest 500 rubles for charitable distribution. He accepted the money, declaring at the same time that my thanks in appreciation of his work was a thing that he

would value the most. He had many offers, he continued further, from parishes in more prosperous communities and outside the famine area, but he preferred to share the fate of the people whom he had served previously in prosperity. * * *

The part of the canton of Svajsk through which we passed is almost bare of woods, and throughout the entire length of it there is no considerable forest. The country as a whole is very gently undulating in character. While we made tea by the samovar offered us, a peasant, who had heard of our arrival in the village, entered, and having first directed his glance toward the icon in the corner of the room and after making the sign of the cross, addressed us. He held in his hand some specimens of the inevitable lebeda, upon which the entire population is living, and with a gesture which must have moved even the most doubtful of those in France of the existence in Russia of a famine, he stated quietly: "Comrades, I can perhaps eat and live on this, but my children cannot. They must die if they are not given help. Cannot you enter all my children in the American kitchen?" There was no note of complaint in his voice, no whining of the suggestion of a beggar begging for bread. He spoke as a member of the family of humanity in distress to a member in more fortunate circumstances.

I talked with a member of the village American Relief Administration Committee regarding the general state of live stock. He stated that a year ago he had two horses, twelve sheep, three pigs and a calf, of all of which stock only the horses remain. This case is fairly typical, not only of the canton of Svajsk, but of the Tartar Republic, in the total territory of which since the famine about 75 per cent. of the horses have been sacrificed for food, 85 per cent. of cows and 90 per cent. of sheep. So depleted has the live stock in the canton become that during my journey through it I was never able to make much more than twenty versts, or fourteen miles, a day.

Leaving Ivanovskaya at 8:20 A. M. on a very cold day, we drove directly to Verchny Irinchy, sixteen versts, and in a wholly Tartar village we were put up in a Tartar home for our conference with the committee of the American Relief Administration and the population. From inquiries it was learned that even lebeda, the bread substitute, sells for 120,000 rubles a pood. Here in this village was to be found the worst children's home which had been viewed in the whole of the Tartar Republic. In what was little more than a barn something near a hundred children were crowded. There were tiers of bed shelves ranged around a single room, upon which the children slept. There were no blankets, no beds, no sheets, and the few clothes which the children had were hardly sufficient to keep warm even in the interior of the house. It was a pitiful spectacle to observe them in the middle of the day huddled together in groups about the room in the effort to obtain warmth from the contact of their underfed bodies. I appealed to the committee to attempt to effect some amelioration in the living conditions of these children, and promised that I would make

every effort on my part to obtain clothes for them. * * *

Bread! that is the sole preoccupation today of more than 3,000,000 people in this republic and of how many more from Astrakhan to Moscow it would be difficult to say. Money's only value today is in the amount of bread that it will buy. A man does not complain that you have not given him sufficient money for some service; his complaint is always directed to the fact that with it he can purchase only so many pounds of bread or so many pounds of the bread substitute, lebeda.

Bolgary, formerly known as Bulgary, was the seat of the tribe of black Bulgarians who inhabited this section of Russia not only before the Russians, but previous to the Tartars. Once the site of a town of 30,000 inhabitants, today here are only to be found some 2,524, and these are being reduced daily by famine and disease. The town is first found mentioned in history about 863, and there are left now three of the old stone buildings which date from about this period. In Peter the Great's time there were seven such buildings, and he was the first Russian monarch who attempted to preserve the town for posterity. Since then many excavations have been made by distinguished archaeologists. Upon my expressing an interest in such excavations, the school teacher brought out a tin can which, when turned up, disclosed seventy odd, old Bulgarian coins and other trinkets which had been dug up from the ruined habitations of the Black Bulgarians. The whole were offered to me by the teacher and I was thankful to accept them, though not without insisting upon making payment. * * *

On our way out of Spassk we passed the Molostoff estate, former home of one of the pre-war landowners of the locality. It has been converted by the Soviet authorities into a children's home, and is managed by the children themselves somewhat after the principle of the George Junior Republic. There is a Soviet council composed of children between the ages of 13 and 15.

We drove along the banks of the Kama and shortly before 9 A. M. observed in the distance the glittering Byzantine domes of the monasteries and churches of the town of Laishev. The beauties of the churches of the Russian towns and villages were such as have never failed to afford me an occasion to marvel at the wizardry of the architects and the wealth of the Russian church. I never remember to have observed among the countless churches I have seen in the towns and most obscure Russian villages of the Tartar Republic two which were built alike, and each new one brings out some unexpected and novel line, some interesting design. There is always the strange admixture of Greek and Byzantine architecture. When one first views them after coming from the Gothic architecture of Western Europe the Greek Catholic Church appears heavy and ill-proportioned, a figure almost ungainly in comparison with that of the Gothic.

Chistopol is the largest town of the Tartar Republic outside of Kazan, and numbers about 40,000 in population. It is composed of a large number of substantial stone buildings. Today a

great part of these buildings, or more than thirty, are the sites of orphanages. During my stay in town I was told that approximately twenty-five orphans were picked up from the streets or brought in from the country every day and that this number was constantly increasing. Two months previously I had visited Chistopol and had found the conditions of the children's homes to be exceedingly pitiable and such, so far as sanitary conditions, were easily capable of correction. On that occasion I had read a bitter act of accusation to the committee for its neglect and for the neglect of the population as a whole, and I was pleased to find upon this visit that much had been done in the way of remedying the conditions which I had pointed out as deserving correction. In one of the worst children's homes, a distributing centre, where the children were brought in from the streets, starving and half naked, the death rate had been, at the time of my visit in October, forty each month. At the time of my visit in December it had decreased to four per month.

During the lapse of a brief month a very considerable change for the worse had occurred in this, probably the best of all the cantons in the Tartar Republic in food resources. Typhus had broken out within the past few weeks and sickness was increasing at the rate of about 80 per cent. a month. Mr. Isakov, Chairman of the cantonal Soviet, the American Relief Administration Committee and of Russian Relief, stated that 95 per cent. of the population had made application to Russian Relief for aid. * * *

If not a comfortable, it was in every way an interesting home [in Perm], for it was the first in which I had seen either the children or even the heads of the family sitting down to anything like an apparently abundant quantity of nutritious food. There were four children, husband and wife and grandmother, and they all sat down to meat soup, cabbage, vinegar and bread. The children were fat and healthy looking, and seemed to be gorging themselves. The head of the house stated that he had returned the same day from Sarapol, where he had purchased a pood of flour for 500,000 rubles. I remarked upon the contrast between conditions in which we had been living in the Tartar Republic for two weeks and those which we saw in the Government of Perm. His answer was: "As a representative of the Government, I have sometimes to blush with shame." The mother and grandmother, after eating, busied themselves with a kind of hand weaving by the aid of a hand-made apparatus. I observed also in the room a hand-fashioned cradle, a sort of basket suspended from a pole which ran latitudinally between one of the walls and the beams supporting the roof. The children, after having eaten, climbed up by the stove to a sort of garret, built for sleeping purposes in peasant homes and one side of which is open and exposed to view from the room. There they lay in the straw with their chins propped upon their arms, all in a row and looking down upon us. * * *

We were at the end of our trip. During fifteen days we had traveled 711 versts by sleigh,

270 by rail and had visited twelve of the thirteen cantons of the Tartar Republic. We had held twelve meetings with cantonal committees, fourteen with volost committees, and eighteen with village committees; had inspected thirty-three public kitchens, thirty-six children's homes and ten hospitals.

RUSSIAN FAMINE NOTES

Under the heading "Russian Notes and Feeding Progress," the American Relief Administration Bulletin gives this information:

A Polish Committee for Relief in Russia has been organized, composed of the representatives of various Polish organizations, operating under the direction of Secretary Hoover.

Christian Rakovsky, President of Soviet Ukraine, and William N. Haskell of the American Relief Administration, signed in Moscow on Jan. 10 an agreement by which practically the same privileges guaranteed under the Riga agreement with Soviet Russia were assured for the Ukraine.

The following report comes from the Ufa district, dated Feb. 14: "In some kitchens in the worst localities children under eight years are absolutely without clothing or shoes. They are brought to the kitchens by parents in arms or on little sleds from distant points with temperature 15 below zero. Children sit at tables naked to eat portions, and make the return journey wrapped in sheepskins, in old coats or a piece of blanket."

On Feb. 15: "Some 35,000 blankets have been shipped to Ufa in the past three weeks, also seventy-five essential drugs, clothing and hospital supplies totaling \$40,000 in value. These supplies are from the Red Cross \$3,000,000 contribution. Many cases of acute misery despite all we can do."

Feb. 20: "American corn in Volga Valley. The Moscow office talked to Rostov on the telephone last night. Received train dispatchers' report of location of eleven trains as of 15th. They are now loading sixty cars, or 900 tons, a day. The trains reported are for Ufa, Orenburg, Samara, Saratov." [This is the corn purchased with the \$20,000,000 fund appropriated by the United States Congress. It arrived fifty-five days after President Harding approved the act asking for the appropriation.]

Reports from the field give the following statistics for feeding progress: "On Jan. 15 we were feeding 174,000 in Saratov. On Feb. 1 we were feeding in Kazan 305,774 in 2,356 kitchens and 362 institutions; in Ufa, 90,349 in 874 kitchens; in Samara, 257,994 in 1,309 kitchens and 194 homes; in Orenburg, 109,950; in Moscow, 34,510; in Simbirsk, 211,520; in Tzaritzin, 111,732 in 464 kitchens, which include sick adults. On Feb. 15 the number had increased as follows: Kazan, 317,216 in 3,500 kitchens; Simbirsk, 235,776 in 1,244 kitchens and 232 institutions; Ufa, 105,778; Orenburg, 148,365; Moscow, 36,717; Petrograd, 35,006 in 112 kitchens and 30 institutions."

THE NEW MAP OF EUROPE AND THE UKRAINE

By A. MARGOLIN*

How the idea of Federation first arose in Russia, and its development after the first and second revolutions in 1917—Failure of the Ukraine's fight for independence attributed to French and British policy—Ukrainia's present status

IN the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris there may be seen a series of maps showing Europe during the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On these maps Muscovy and Ukrainia are shown as different countries. These differentiations disappeared at the time of Catherine II. The Russian Imperial Governments began to call Muscovy "Great Russia," and Ukrainia "Little Russia." But even these new designations of territories populated by two related, yet distinct, peoples were not admitted on the usual geographical maps. The whole enormous territory of the Russian Empire was merely designated on the map as "Russia," the governmental departments being named simply as administrative units.

In the course of many decades, up to the first Russian revolution of 1905, it was officially forbidden to print books in the Ukrainian script. It was even forbidden to print the Gospels in the Ukrainian language. As late as 1863 M. Valuev, Minister of the Interior, declared that "no distinct Ukrainian language has ever existed, or can exist." It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that the peoples of Western Europe, America and other parts of the world have had a very dim idea of the existence of a separate Ukrainian people, as of many other peoples living on the territory of the Russian Imperial Government.

The state of affairs above described has been fundamentally changed in the last years. On the maps printed since 1918 in France, England, Germany and America the territories populated by the Ukrainian

people are shown under the old name of "Ukrainia." On these new maps of Europe Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia are also shown separately. On more detailed maps Kuban, the Don district, and White Russia also appear separately.

Of all these regions the largest, after Great Russia and Siberia, is Ukrainia. The ethnographical territory of Ukrainia is larger than that of any of the largest Western European Governments. The population exceeds 40,000,000, about 80 per cent. of whom are native Ukrainians, the remaining 20 per cent. being made up mainly of Great Russians, Jews and Poles.

To those who deny the existence of a separate Ukrainian people and of an independent Ukrainian language, the author recommends the reading of the "Bulletin of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences," issued on Feb. 20, 1906, in which the Academy declares that the Ukrainian language is far from being a dialect of the Russian language, and that it represents a separate Slavic tongue. The Academy also asserts that the Ukrainian people are not a

* Arnold Margolin, the author of the present article, has been in close touch with the Ukrainian movement since the second Russian revolution of 1917. Under the Central Rada (Parliament) and later under the Government of Hetman Skoropadsky, he was Judge of the Ukrainian Superior Court. After the departure of the German forces from Ukrainia and the resignation of Skoropadsky (December, 1918) the administrative power was transferred to the Ukrainian Directorate, headed by Vinnichenko and Petlura. During this period M. Margolin was for some time Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Government, and was subsequently a member of the Ukrainian delegation at the Peace Conference in Paris (Summer of 1919). During the first half of 1920 he was the head of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to England.



Sketch map of the Ukraine, showing present boundaries of this semi-independent Russian State. A portion of the territory inhabited by Ukrainians in the west now belongs to Poland under the Treaty of Versailles

branch of the Russian people, but a separate Slavic people. On the other hand, anthropological and ethnographical investigations have established an essential difference between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians in respect to stature, weight, color of hair, &c. The Ukrainian people have therefore every reason and right to full national determination, and can decide their own fate independently. They must determine their relations with neighboring peoples, including the Great Russians, by vote of the Ukrainian Constitutional Assembly. Such is the theoretic and equitable presumption.

THE FEDERATIVE IDEA

I should now like briefly to describe the actual political aspirations of the Ukrainian people up to the Russian revolution of 1917, and to show the changes in these aspirations and in the psychology of the Ukrainians after the fall of the Russian Imperial Government. To understand those aspirations, one must understand the conditions under which the idea of a Russia based on the principle of federation first arose.

It is well known that the Romanoff dynasty and all previous Russian imperial Governments pursued a policy of compulsory Russification of the many different peoples of the vast empire. In the last years of that empire, before the war, the population totaled about 180,000,000, of whom only some 80,000,000 were Great Russians. Russia was a unified, centralized Government. People were sent to prison for any propaganda favoring Government decentralization. The best representatives of the Russian and Ukrainian "Intelligentsia," however, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, realized the indispensability of decentralization on the basis of federation. The famous "Dekabristi"* first brought forward the project of a division of Russia into thirteen States, united on the federative principle into a single government (1825). Later this federative idea was propagated by the Cyrillo-Methodievskoe Brotherhood, founded in Kiev in 1846 by the best sons of the Ukrainian people. But an espe-

*The "Decembrists," a reference to the abortive revolution against Czar Nicholas I. in December, 1825.

cially clear, strong current toward federation began in the Ukraine in the '60s, a movement connected with the name of the celebrated Ukrainian publicist and statesman, Dragomanov. Among the Great Russian intelligentsia, on the contrary, small interest in the idea of federation was observable. The large masses of the people did not even know what the term meant. It should not be forgotten that up to the October revolution of 1905 the very word "federation," like that of "republic," was forbidden. The man who carelessly pronounced these words got into trouble.

In the period between 1905 and the second revolution of 1917 the number of those favoring the reconstruction of Russia on a federative basis increased considerably. Federative Russia corresponded to the maximum demanded by the peoples of Russia for the realization of their national and territorial autonomy. No one at that time had as yet raised the question of the separation of *Ukrainia*, *Lithuania*, *Georgia*, &c., from Great Russia—the question of the dismemberment of the Russian Nation. The old map of Europe, the old governmental system still existed. Germany and Austria-Hungary were still powerful militaristic Governments. The military "balance of power" between the great nations still needed a large and strong Government in Eastern Europe. The Russian Government, at the outbreak of the 1917 revolution, was still a unit; its overthrow and fall, inevitable after the prophetic offensive launched by Kerensky in June, 1917, were still not discountable in advance. Under these circumstances, it was clear that the separation from Russia of one or another part of her governmental whole might facilitate the victory of the Central Powers and the annexation of the second territories.

SEPARATISM FAVORED BY LEFT

Unheeding this state of affairs, the Russian parties of the Left displayed during the period described an extremely radical spirit in the solutions advocated by them of national questions. In May and the first half of June, 1917, there were organized All-Russian sessions of the Socialist Revolutionists—the largest Russian political party—and a session also of the Soviets of the workmen's, soldiers' and

peasants' deputies. These All-Russian sessions almost unanimously proclaimed the rights of all peoples of the Russian State to full self-determination, even including the right to separate completely from Russia, and to form an independent Government. The same tendency was observable among the members of the Labor Party.

The June offensive led Russia to the defeats of Tarnopol and Riga and to the triumph of Bolshevism. The Provisional Governments of Lvov, Miliukov and Kerensky either could not or would not recognize the fact that the majority of the Russian Army, taught to feel blind fear of the autocratic imperial régime, and to show its submission, could not adopt any conscious attitude toward the question of war. When the hypnotism of the Czar's power ended, it was clear that the army would end the war speedily and dissolve. Lenin, Trotsky and other leaders of Bolshevism understood this psychology of the army and learned it well. The soldiers wanted to go home. "What is Bolshevism?" the author of this article asked some of these disorganized soldiers. "Bolshevism means 'no fighting,'" was their invariable reply. They vied with one another in abandoning the fighting front, and in vast numbers streamed back to their homes, to their native towns and villages.

Kerensky, until recently the semi-divinity of the popular masses, was the object of the army's greatest hatred. "Kerensky and all his Ministers should be hanged," I was told by soldiers in the trains, at meetings and wherever I met them; "he's the one—Kerensky—who is driving us into war, to certain death!" Each day the anarchy increased and deepened. All hopes were centred on the Constitutional Assembly.

Although in *Ukrainia* at this time the Central Rada was functioning—that is, the Ukrainian National Assembly, in which were represented all Ukrainian parties, as well as the majority of Russian, Jewish and Polish parties—that body continued to keep to its program of federative union between *Ukrainia* and Great Russia. The Ukrainian political parties and the Ukrainian people received in the general elections to the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly about 85 or 90 per cent. of votes on the territory of all the Ukraine. But after

this decisive victory of the Ukrainian national idea, the Ukrainian intellectuals and the political parties did not hasten to separate from Russia, but waited, in the belief that the Constitutional Assembly would put an end to anarchy and establish throughout the whole country a federative principle.

This hope was not destined to be realized. On Jan. 5, 1918, the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly met in St. Petersburg, and on the same day the Bolsheviks dispersed it. It was thus made clear that the Bolsheviks, who had seized the supreme power, were a party of demagogues who had ushered in a dictatorship based on tyranny and arbitrary will. From that moment begins the centrifugal movement of Ukraina and of the Baltic and Caucasian peoples. This high-handed action by the Bolsheviks led to the proclamation by the Central Ukrainian Rada (Jan. 9) of the independence of the Ukraine. By this act the Rada sought to remove the Ukraine from anarchy and from Bolshevik experiments and to establish a Ukrainian Government on a parliamentary basis, modeled on similar existing democratic governments in Europe and America.

RECOGNITION BY POWERS

I have in my hands historical documents of great importance, which clearly prove that this proclamation of Ukrainian independence was in complete accord with the policy of France and England in the period under discussion. These documents consist of four notes, by which representatives of France and England were accredited to the "Government of the Ukrainian Republic." The dates of these notes are even earlier than Jan. 9, 1918. The notes show that France and England recognized the Ukrainian Republic several days before the Central Rada proclaimed the independence of Ukraine. It is also characteristic and historically important that this recognition of the Ukraine on the part of these powers preceded the conclusion of the peace of Brest-Litovsk by only a few weeks. (The Brest-Litovsk peace was made in February-March, 1918). It is thus clear that the first on the road to recognition of Ukraine were not the Central Powers, but France and England. The text of

these four notes, which I quote in translation from the French text published by the Sociétés des Nations, No. 88, Annexe February-March, 1918.) It is thus clear

FRENCH RECOGNITION

French Republic: Legion of France in Rumania.

Jassy, Dec. 29, 1917.

The Minister of France in Rumania to Gen. Tabouis, Commissary of the French Republic in the Ukraine:

I have the honor of informing you that the French Government has appointed you Commissary of the French Republic in the Ukraine. Please notify the General Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Government of this by placing in his hands the present letter, which accredits you in that capacity.

SAINT-AULAIRE.

French Republic: General Commissary of the Republic.

Kiev, Dec. 21, 1917 (Jan. 3, 1918)*

Gen. Tabouis, Commissary of the French Republic accredited to the Ukrainian Republic, to the General Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Republic:

May I ask you to inform the Government of the Ukrainian Republic that the Government of the French Republic has appointed me Commissary of the French Republic accredited to the Government of the Ukrainian Republic. Will you kindly let me know on what day and at what hour I could present myself officially to the Chief of Government.

TABOUIIS.

French Republic: General Commissary of the Republic.

Kiev, Dec. 20, 1917 (Jan. 2, 1918)

Gen. Tabouis, Commissary of the French Republic accredited to the Ukrainian Republic, to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Ukrainian Republic:

On Dec. 5 (18), in an interview at which were present M. Vinnichenko, President of the Council, and the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, Finance, Food, Ways and Communications, and Justice, I presented the following request:

[Here follows a reproduction of the text of the note of General Tabouis, dated Dec. 5, that is to say, prior to his appointment as Minister of the French Government to the Ukrainian Republic.]

Since that date, France has entered into official relations with the Ukraine.

In view of the rapid march of events, and to avoid all loss of time, I would ask you to reply as soon as possible.

TABOUIIS.

BRITISH RECOGNITION

January.

Representative of Great Britain.

To his Excellency, the President of the Council of the Ministers of the National Ukrainian Republic:

I have the honor of informing you that the Government of his Britannic Majesty has appointed me by telegraph—the only way of com-

*The old Russian calendar was thirteen days behind that used in the West.

munication now open—Representative of Great Britain in Ukraina. My Government has charged me to give you assurance of its good-will. It will support the Ukrainian Government with all its power in the task which it has undertaken to function as a good government, to maintain order and to combat the Central Powers, enemies of democracy and humanity. On my own account, I pledge you my full co-operation for the realization of our common ideal. PICTON-BAGGE,

Representative of Great Britain in Ukraina.

THE NEW RUSSIAN STATES

Thus the force of events led the peoples of Russia to defend their right to separate from Russia. Essentially, this was not even separation—for Russia was already in a state of dissolution—but an attempt to save their national territory from the general Russian conflagration. One would have expected the Russian intellectuals and democrats to sympathize with the effort to reconstruct the former Russian Nation by parts on the solid foundation of national organization of the different peoples of Russia. But these same Russian Socialist Revolutionaries, Laborites and the elements who had taken part in the sessions of the Soviets of soldiers,' workmen's and peasants' deputies speedily forgot, in January, 1918, those loud slogans in favor of full self-determination of the peoples which they proclaimed in the Summer of 1917 and energetically fought the aspirations of different peoples to free themselves from the general chaos and anarchy and to create their own independent governmental life. Thus was revealed the contradiction between the real underlying character, the fundamental nature of these people and the loud promises which they had made with the utmost sincerity before. In this chasm between the real and the theories of the "must" lies much that is interesting for those who later have occasion to study the psychology of the Russian intelligentsia of this period.

Not only the Russian intellectuals, however, fell into this fundamental self-contradiction. The powers of the Entente, who at first had agreed to the realization of the principles of Wilson with respect to the equality of rights of all peoples to self-determination, subsequently applied a very diverse interpretation of those principles, not only to the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, to Germany, but

also to the peoples of the former Russian Empire.

Austria-Hungary was dissolved, Germany was territorially diminished and weakened. The old map of Europe no longer existed. There was no danger that the territory of the former Russian Government would be seized by its Western neighbors. The old Russian edifice was crumbling. It was necessary to erect a new edifice, starting from the foundation. Federation of the different parts seemed like the culmination of a lengthy process. People now began to talk of the creation of separate units, of separate States. Later on, these new nationalist States would be able to negotiate among themselves, on an equal basis, with regard to a confederation and the creation of the United States of Eastern Europe.

It was left to time to reveal the governmental innovations now emerging amid the ruins of old Russia. Besides the Ukraine, the three Baltic Governments—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—became crystallized. In the Caucasus, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia emulously declared themselves. Less striking, yet not without demonstrativeness, appeared the will of White Russia to decide its own fate. Kuban, Ukrainian by more than a half of its population; the mountaineers of Northern Caucasus (Daghestan) and the Don district also issued loud proclamations of their political sovereignty and, like the other new political formations above described, sent their representatives to the Paris Peace Conference. Less clear was the problem in the Crimea, where the population is extremely mixed and where even the Tartars do not constitute an absolute majority. It is not at all clear, finally, what the alien peoples of Turkestan, Siberia, &c., are thinking and the attitude they will later assume.

It was, at all events, impossible to ignore all these sound national tendencies. It was necessary to understand that the different peoples were war weary, that the "Gruzin" (Georgian) would not go to combat anarchy on the soil of Great Russia, that the Ukrainian or the Estonian would refuse to bring order to the Caucasus or to Siberia. My own house, my own hearth, my own family, my own people, my local language, my native village and my native

soil—these were the watchwords which must be opposed to anarchy and the Bolshevik caste. Only local patriotism could save each separate district or part by self-determination as a separate national or geographical unit.

FRENCH POLICY IN UKRAINIA

This the Entente powers either could not or would not understand. Every application for support made by the Ukrainian Directorate and its democratic government to the representatives of the French Supreme Command in Odessa (January-March, 1919) proved futile. The French at first promised their aid to the Ukrainian Army in its struggle with the Bolshevik hordes; the project of a treaty between France and the Ukrainian Directorate was even discussed. France, through the French Supreme Command in Odessa, demanded in exchange control over the Ukraine's railways and finances. On her part, France pledged herself to send detachments of her own, and of the Rumanian and Greek forces, then in Odessa, to the aid of Petlura's army. But at the end of March the French suddenly refused to sign the treaty referred to, and early in April, quite as suddenly and for reasons not even yet explained, abandoned Odessa and left it and all its surrounding district exposed to the invasion and the ravages of the Bolsheviks. France, in general and in actual fact, was supporting only Poland. The Polish General Haller was turning the cannon given him by France to use in the war against the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian national army in Eastern Galicia—a country, 70 per cent. of whose population (about 5,000,000) is made up of Ukrainians. England was helping Denikin, America was helping Kolchak. But Denikin's army also was turning its guns against the Ukrainian national army.

This army, both in the Dnieper district and in Galicia, was thus exposed to two fires. One side it was subjected to the attack of the Bolshevik army, on another Haller and Denikin were assailing it, armed with French and English cannon. No one extended a hand to help the young Ukrainian Army. All big and small arms factories in the time of the Czar were purposely concentrated in Great Russia. The

Ukrainians had to fight, so to speak, with bare hands. It was obvious that the Ukrainian Government could not carry on this struggle under such conditions for a long period. The result would have been different if the Russian Army of Denekin had devoted itself to fighting against the Bolsheviks in Great Russia and had abandoned the imperialistic aim of annihilating the Ukrainian National Army and forcibly seizing the Ukraine.

I will not dwell on the next period, which saw the remnants of the Ukrainian Army and the Ukrainian National Government on Polish territory. The Ukraino-Polish agreement (treaty of April 21, 1920), dictated by Poland in Warsaw to the representatives of the Ukrainian Government then sojourning there as Poland's "guests," the swift joint attack by Pilsudski and Petlura on Kiev and their equally swift retreat over the Polish frontier under the onset of the Bolshevik armies, brought the Ukraine no decisive results.

NOW A SOVIET REPUBLIC

What does Ukraina represent at the present time? Nominally, it appears to be an autonomous Soviet republic, federally attached to Soviet Russia, or, more exactly, to Great Russia. As a matter of fact, however, the Ukrainian Government is only a subservient organ, an agent of the Moscow Soviet Government. The present provisional capital of the Ukraine—Kharkov—is an obedient tool in the hands of Moscow. The Bolsheviks preferred Kharkov to the historic Ukrainian capital Kiev chiefly because of strategic considerations. Peasant uprisings are continually occurring around Kiev, while Kharkov is nearer to the Russian frontier, and the danger of its being surrounded and captured by insurgent forces is considerably less. The Ukrainian Soviet Government, it is true, has lately shown some tendency to rid itself of Moscow's dominance, but this whole question of the mutual relations between Moscow and Kharkov is of a purely academic character.

The power of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine, in actual fact, extends only to the large cities and to the network of railways, protected by armed forces. The innumerable Ukrainian small towns and villages,

however, in other words, the whole vast peasant element, does not recognize the Bolsheviks, and hates them. The main and fundamental reason for this hatred is economic. During the last years the hungry swarms of Bolsheviks coming from the North, from Great Russia, have swarmed to the fertile "black lands" of the Ukrainian soil. Ruthlessly, they have requisitioned the peasants' grain and cattle. And as all this booty is carted away to the North, to Great Russia, the hatred of the peasants extends not only to the Bolsheviks but generally to all Great Russians, whom they call "Moskali" (Muscovites) and "Katzapyi." This hatred in recent times has become extremely acute and has often been expressed by fierce reprisals, acts of violence, torturings and murders of both Soviet commissaries and in general of all "Moskali."

But these "swarmings" from the North are not as destructive to the Ukrainian peasants as they might be, for the peasants have adapted themselves to these inroads and have learned to hide their grain and all other food products in the ground. More serious for them is the question of the cattle and live stock, which they cannot easily hide. Up to the revolution, Ukraine, as is well known, was mainly an agricultural country. But even those few factories that formerly existed in the Ukraine have now almost completely disappeared.

In contrast with the Great Russian peasantry, brought up under the system of common ownership of the land, the Ukrainian peasants stand firmly for private possession. They followed the Socialists as long as the latter talked only of taking the land away from the landed proprietors and dividing it up among the peasants. But now that land ownership has been abolished, the socialistic tendency of the peasants has vanished, and the majority are now thinking only of strengthening their possession of the land on the basis of private ownership in perpetuity. This feeling is a characteristic feature of the psychology of the Ukrainian peasant, who longs now for the complete overthrow of the Bolsheviks and the full separation of the Ukraine from Great Russia. This is the immediate and direct effect of the Ukraine's having been exposed in the last years to anarchy and

Bolshevist terror. The invasion of the Ukraine by Denikin's army also tended to strengthen the peasants' hostile feeling to the unwanted tutelage from the North. The peasants now ardently hope for establishment of their own National Government.

The factory workmen of the Ukraine represent but an insignificant percentage of the population, in view of the small number of factories on Ukrainian territory, already referred to. The workmen in Ukraine, as elsewhere, are Social Democrats. They have almost never been able to place their candidates either in the All-Russian or in the Ukrainian Constitutional Assembly.* In all general elections the candidates of the Ukrainian peasant party, i. e., the party of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries, have been successful.

ATTITUDE OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

The nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia, on its part, up to the time of the second revolution, was considerably inferior in number to the general Russian intelligentsia. This is explained by the fact that the Imperial Russian Government russified the intellectuals of alien peoples in the intermediate and high schools. The Ukrainian language was considered as "popular," "rustic." Finally, the Government language, the language of the officials, became the official Russian language. But from the time of the second revolution, the number of Ukrainian intellectuals increased considerably. The new generation is now being brought up to use the Ukrainian language, in which it thinks and feels. The most characteristic feature of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is its love for Western culture, its attraction to the West. In contrast with the Russian intelligentsia, the most farsighted Ukrainian workers have completely rejected the pretension to playing a Messianic rôle, as well as any attempt to create in Eastern Europe a model socialistic foundation. Their only

*Elections to the Ukrainian Constitutional Assembly took place in the first months of 1918. This coincided with the time of the occupation of the Ukraine by the German-Austrian armies. The German authorities dismissed the Central Rada in the Spring of 1918, and refused to permit the convening of the Ukrainian Constitutional Assembly. To replace the Central Rada, a group of large agricultural proprietors chose Herman Skoropadsky as ruler, and this was sanctioned by the German authorities (May, 1918). L

desire, and a modest one, is to teach the people to read and write. In their plans for governmental construction they are guided by the model of the democratic governments already existing in Europe and America.

The best representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, having been pricked by all the thorns of Pan-Russian imperialism, are thoroughgoing democrats, and make no claims to other people's lands. They clearly understand that at the present time, in view of the existing economic structure of the universal human community, all peoples of Europe must strive toward a general European "Zollverein"—in other words, toward the creation of the United States of Europe. Such a union as this, however, must be the result of a voluntary, free agreement of all these peoples.

With regard to this question of the fate of the peoples of the former Russian Empire, and especially of *Ukrainia*, it must be understood that all future attempts to create a unified Russia from above, by the method of centralization, are doomed to the same fate as that which overtook *Kolchak*, *Denikin*, &c. If England, with all her power, has found herself unable to suppress the aspiration of the Irish people to independence, all the more absurd and fruitless must prove the future efforts of Great Russia to conquer and subject *Ukrainia* and other new national Governments to Moscow.

AIMS OF THE UKRAINE

Only local or regional patriotism, I repeat, and regional powers can slowly begin the construction, on the ground, of a new governmental and economic life. For such a construction, of course, the help of Western Europe and America is needed at the start, in respect both to technical aid and to capital. *Ukrainia* needs such aid especially, as her few factories have been looted, and a considerable part of their machinery and equipment has been removed to Great Russia.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man, published in the eighteenth century, established the equality of civil rights for individuals, and yet the principle of the equality of right of peoples has not yet been fulfilled. The old masters of Rus-

sia did not understand that a governmental construction can be stable only if it has a strong foundation. Instead of drawing the power of the Russian Government from its fundamental elements, from the deep wells of its multiple peoples, they systematically strove to reduce the historic and national life to one common governmental denominator, to one single stereotyped form.

Even in the present time, despite the lessons of the past, the Russian intellectuals, with few exceptions, still do not realize the necessity not only of proclaiming but of realizing the full equality of rights of the Great Russians, of the Ukrainians, of the Lithuanians and other peoples living on the soil of former Russia.

Of all the great Governments and nations of the world, the United States of America best understands the meaning and significance of the full right to self-determination of all parts of a government. One of the important examples of America's deep understanding of this question was published by the late Lord Bryce in his book, "*The American Commonwealth*." (I quote from the French edition, 1911, Vol. 1, p. 34).

A few years ago [Bryce says] the American Protestant Episcopal Church discussed at one of its sessions the question of the revision of the liturgy. It was explained that it was desirable to add to the number of short prayers a prayer that should extend to all the people, and an eminent theologian suggested the following formula:

"Oh, Lord, bless our nation." * * * The word "nation" aroused so many protests in the assembly, on the ground that it was a too precise recognition of the unity of the nation, that the first formula was eliminated and replaced by the following phrase: "Oh, Lord, bless the United States."

And Bryce is right when he says that the United States is a real republic of republics, a Government which, though it represents a unit, is made up of separate States. The new Governments now shown on the map of Eastern Europe must first be consolidated and strengthened. When this process is completed, the time will be ripe for an agreement among these separate new European States, as happened about a century and a half ago in the case of the separate States which formed the beginning of the great Government, famous from that day, under the name of the United States of America.

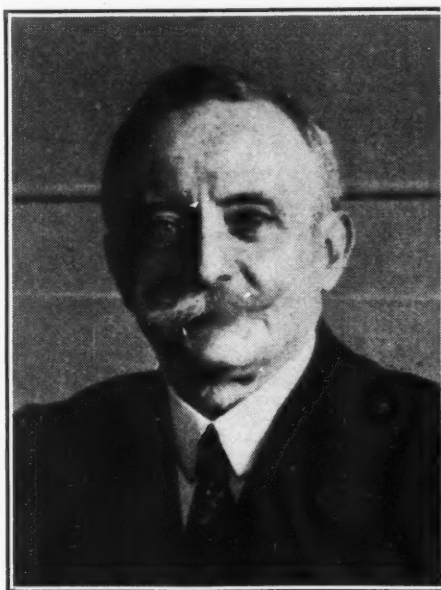
THE GENOA CONFERENCE: FIRST SESSIONS

Personnel and setting of one of the most important gatherings since the Paris Peace Conference—Premier Facta as Chairman—Eloquent address by Lloyd George—Trying to save Europe

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

It was an imposing assembly which Signor Facta, the Italian Premier, faced on the morning of April 10, 1922, when the much-heralded conference of European States opened its sessions in the Royal Palace of St. George at Genoa. The palace had been made habitable for the first time in thirty years to receive the delegates from thirty-four States, convened to find a remedy for the economic ills of Europe following the great war. It was in the grand ballroom, haunted by the ghosts of royal revelries held many years ago, a vast and lofty apartment with high mirrors, massive central chandelier and large horseshoe-shaped tables, that the representatives not only of the allied nations, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Portugal, but also of the nations that were neutral during the war—Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian nations and others (not forgetting the tiny Italian republic of San Marino, which sent six delegates to represent its 10,000 population)—and the new republics created since the war, met for the first time

in history the representatives of defeated Germany and defiant and isolated Soviet Russia in a last desperate attempt to save all Europe from impending economic and financial ruin.



(Times Wide World Photo)

LUIGI FACTA

New Premier of Italy and permanent President of the Genoa Economic Conference

To Lloyd George, more than to any one else, was due the credit for this attempt to save Europe from economic despair. At Cannes he had proposed this epochal meeting of the States of Europe to the former Premier, M. Briand. At Boulogne (Feb. 25) he had renewed the proposal to the new French Premier, M. Poincaré, and had given him the assurance that if Germany and Russia—France's arch enemies—were invited the question of reparations and the terms of the Versailles Treaty, on the one hand, should not be made subject to

revision of change, nor, on the other hand, should the liability of Soviet Russia for the vast debt owed France by the former Imperial Government be brought into question. On these terms France had consented to send her delegates. Disappointed at this embargo on the discussion of reparations, Germany, nevertheless, sent her delegates in the hope

of securing some help and solace for her desperate financial situation. Soviet Russia, lastly, was represented by men filled with hope that the vast Slavic land would at last be admitted to the comity of nations, and her Government, hitherto virtually outlawed, be recognized by the rest of Europe.

The official list of the nations represented was as follows:

Nation.	Delegates.	Nation.	Delegates.
Albania	4	Italy	6
Australia	14	Jugoslavia	12
Austria	6	Latvia	6
Belgium	14	Lithuania	7
Bulgaria	15	Luxemburg	4
Canada	2	New Zealand	16
Czechoslovakia	30	Norway	8
Denmark	10	Poland	40
Estonia	25	Portugal	9
Finland	7	Rumania	22
France	80	Russia	12
Germany	80	San Marino	16
Great Britain	128	South Africa	4
Greece	22	Spain	16
Holland	16	Sweden	10
Hungary	7	Switzerland	8
Ireland	6		

THE LEADING DELEGATES

The leading members of the main delegations are given herewith:

Great Britain

Lloyd George, Premier, head of delegation.
 Earl Curzon,* Foreign Secretary.
 Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Secretary for War.
 Sir Robert Horne, Chancellor of the Exchequer,
 Sir Maurice Hankey.
 Sir Philip Sassoon.

British Dominions

Canada—Sir Charles Gordon of Montreal and Professor Edouard Montpetit, University of Montreal.

Australia—Sir Joseph Cook, High Commissioner in London.

South Africa—Sir Edgar Walton, High Commissioner in London, and Sir Henry Strakosch.

France

Louis Barthou, Vice Premier and Minister of Justice, head of delegation.

M. Colrat, Under Secretary to Premier Poincaré.

Camille Barrère, French Ambassador to Italy.

Jacques Seydoux, financial expert in the Foreign Office.

M. Picard, Deputy Governor of the Bank of France.

Belgium

M. Theunis, Premier, head of delegation.

M. Jaspar, Foreign Minister.

M. Delacroix, ex-Premier.

M. Lepreux, Vice Governor of the Banque Nationale.

M. Galopin.

M. Pelissier Cattier.

M. Wittmer, President of the Committee to Protect Belgian Interests in Russia.

Germany

Dr. Wirth, Chancellor, head of delegation.

Dr. Walther Rathenau, Foreign Minister.

Dr. Andreas Hermes, Minister of Finance.

Robert Schmidt, Minister of Economics.

Under Secretaries Hemmer, Hirsch, von Simson and Stieler.

Soviet Russia

George Tchitcherin, Foreign Minister, head of delegation.

Maxim Litvinov, chief of Soviet legations abroad.

Adolph Joffe.

M. Vorovsky, Soviet representative in Rome.

Christian Rakovsky, President of the Ukrainian Soviet Government.

M. Midivani.

M. Narimanov, Chairman of the Council of Commissars of the Federated Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

M. Bekzadian.

M. Khodjaiev.

M. Shliapnikov, Soviet Commissar of Labor.

M. Salronov.

M. Rudzutack.

Far Eastern Republic

Dr. Jacob Janson, Foreign Minister of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. [A member of the Soviet delegation.]

Poland

Konstanty Skirmunt, Foreign Minister, head of delegation.

Gabryel Narutowicz, Minister of Public Works.

August Zaleski, Polish Minister to Rome.

Jodko Narkevich, Polish Minister to Latvia.

M. Strassburger, Under Secretary of State for Commerce and Industry.

Antoni Wieniawski, chief of Bureau of Experts.

Japan

Viscount Kikuiro Ishii, President of the Council of the League of Nations, Ambassador to Paris, head of delegation.

Baron Consuke Hayashi, Ambassador to Great Britain.

Kengo Mori, Finance Commissioner in Europe.

M. Okomoto, Second Secretary of London Embassy.

Portugal

Senhor Teixeira Gomez, Minister to London, head of delegation.

Victorino Guimaraes, former Minister of Finance.

Spain

Señor Prida, Foreign Minister, head of delegation.

Rumania

M. Bratiano, Premier, head of delegation.

M. Duca, Foreign Minister.

M. Antonesco, Minister to France.

Greece

M. Gounaris, Premier, head of delegation.

*Earl Curzon was detained by illness in London, and was not present at the opening sessions of the conference.

Italy

Signor Facta, Premier, head of delegation.
Carlo Schanzer, Foreign Minister.
Giovanni Bertone, Minister of Finance.
Luigi Rossi, Minister of Justice.

Richard Washburn Child, the American Ambassador to Rome, was presented as an unofficial observer, in accordance with the action of the Washington Government in declining the invitation of the Italian Government to participate in the Genoa Conference. As the list of numbers of delegates shows, some of the delegations were of considerable size, the largest being that of Great Britain, with 128 members; France, 80; Germany, 80. Counting all the delegations and their assistants, the total was estimated at 1,500.

SIGNOR FACTA'S OPENING ADDRESS

The delegations were seated at the great horseshoe tables ranged about the hall, the representatives of the main allied powers occupying the foremost places in the centre. The Italian delegation sat at the head of the hall, facing the main entrance. To the right of the Italians were seated the French and Japanese delegations, and on the left were the British and Belgians. The other delegations sat at tables placed at right angles to the main one. The alphabetic order of seating brought about the following grouping:

First Table—Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia.

Second Table—Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Germany.

Third Table—Greece, Latvia, Luxemburg, Norway, Netherlands.

Fourth Table—Rumania, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Sweden.

Fifth Table—Switzerland.

Sixth Table—Hungary.

Some five hundred distinguished visitors and unofficial observers were ranged about the walls of the main floor. Many photographers were present. Four hundred newspaper correspondents, representing the press of practically the whole civilized world, including Japan and China, crowded the large gallery above. The main interest of the onlookers was concentrated on two of the delegations—the British and the Russian. Lloyd George, the main protagonist in the international drama about to unroll, drew the gaze of many. His chief competitor in the attraction of public interest was George Tchitcherin, head of

the Bolshevik delegation, whose members were all dressed sedately and conventionally in morning coats and black ties.

Premier Facta was applauded vigorously as he rose to make his opening speech. The Genoa Conference, he said, was an international humane organization which had met to remedy all the evils from which Europe was suffering. "There are no longer enemies and friends," continued Signor Facta, "there are neither victors nor vanquished." Peaceful relations must be re-established to facilitate the co-ordination of national energies destroyed by the war. The financial situation of the European States must be stabilized, and all States, great or small, must be guaranteed political independence, otherwise all hope of return to normal intercourse and commerce would be vain.

The Italian Premier then read a message of welcome from King Victor Emmanuel. Lloyd George rose, after Signor Facta had ended, and proposed that Facta be made Permanent President of the conference. The motion was seconded at once by Louis Barthou, head of the French delegation, and was passed by general acclaim.

LLOYD GEORGE'S SPEECH

These preliminaries having been disposed of, the first main event on the program—the expository speech of the British Premier, sponsor for the conference, a speech in which the keynote of the spirit of the whole assembly was sounded in clarion tones—was delivered in what well-known observers familiar with Lloyd George's characteristics declared to be his best style. Though imbued with a high spirit of idealism, his words rang sonorously and aggressively, expressing a militant mood. As he made point after point proving the necessity of peace and a mutual spirit of helpfulness to lighten the grim burden inherited from the war, his hearers were electrified, and frequently burst into spontaneous applause. One of his most telling thrusts was his remark that as Genoa had helped Europe to discover America, he hoped it would help America to rediscover Europe. But his most dramatic effect was reached when he declared that though the fighting had ceased, the "snarling" still went on. It was with his face turned toward the

French delegation that he rasped out this blunt metaphor, which he boldly extended and played upon, and his ironical after-remark that the good of another country is not necessarily the evil of one's own was also unmistakably directed against the French. His eloquent and powerful address follows:

This is the greatest gathering of European nations which has ever assembled on this continent, and, having regard for the magnitude of the assembly, the character of its representation and the importance of the topics we are here to discuss, the results of the conference will be far-reaching in their effects, either for better or for worse, upon the destiny not merely of Europe, but of the whole world.

We meet on equal terms, provided we accept equal conditions. We are not here as allied and enemy States; we are not here as belligerents or neutrals; we have not come together as monarchists or republicans or sovietists. We are assembled as the representatives of all the nations and peoples of Europe, to seek out in common the best methods for restoring the shattered prosperity of this continent. So may each build up in his own land, each in his own way, a better condition of things for the people than the world has yet enjoyed. But if we meet on terms of equality it must be because we accept equal conditions.

These conditions in inviting the powers were laid down at Cannes. They apply to all alike; they are the conditions which heretofore have been accepted by all civilized communities as the basis of international good faith. They in themselves are honorable, they are essential to any intercourse between nations, they do not derogate from the complete sovereignty of the State. We fully accept them ourselves; they are the only conditions on which we can consent to deal with others. I will summarize them in two or three sentences.

The first is, when a country enters into contractual obligations with another country or its nationals for value received, that contract cannot be repudiated, whenever the country changes its Government, without returning value.

The second is, that no country can wage war on the institutions of another.

The third is, that one nation shall not engage in aggressive operations against the territory of another.

The fourth is, that the nations of one country shall be entitled to impartial justice in the courts of another.

If any people reject these elementary conditions of civilized intercourse between nations they cannot be expected to be received into the comity of nations.

These conditions were laid down at Cannes; they were incorporated in the invitation to this conference; they are the fundamental basis of its proceedings, and all those who accepted the invitation must be presumed to have accepted the conditions, and I have every reason to believe that that is the view which every nation repre-

sented in this assembly is prepared to adhere to in letter and in spirit.

Europe undoubtedly needs a common effort to repair the devastation wrought by the most destructive war ever waged in this world. That war came to an end three years ago. Europe, exhausted with its fury, with the loss of blood and treasure it involved, is staggering under the colossal burdens of debt and reparation it entailed. The pulse of commerce is beating feebly, wildly; in some lands artificial activity is stimulated either by demands for repairing the ravages of war or by generations of thrift by the frugal and industrious among the people; but legitimate trade, commerce and industry are everywhere disorganized and depressed.

There is unemployment in the West, there is famine and pestilence in the East; the peoples of all races and all classes are suffering—some more, some less, but all are suffering—and unless some common effort by all the nations of Europe is made, and made immediately, to restore European efficiency, I can see symptoms not merely that the suffering will continue, but that it may even deepen into despair.

PEACE THE FIRST NEED

What is the first need of Europe? Peace—a real peace. We propose to study the currency. Good! We propose to examine the question of exchanges. That also is good. We propose to discuss transport and credit. That is all good. But unless peace is established and good-will

[Austrian Cartoon]



—Kikeriki, Vienna

Slighting the Birthplace of Columbus

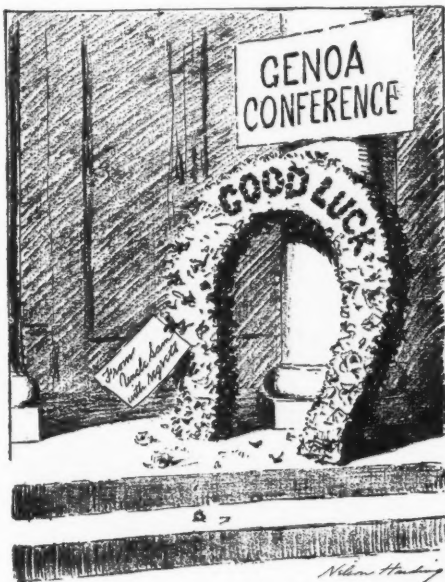
KIKERIKI: "What do you say of the Americans then, Christopher Columbus? They have owed you a return visit for 430 years and still delay it."

among nations all these discussions will be of no avail.

On the other hand, if real peace is the issue of this conference, all those things will be added unto you. But is there no peace in Europe? It is true that actual fighting has ceased, but the snarling goes on, and as there are many dogs in every country who imagine that the louder they bark the deeper impression they make of their ferocity and determination, Europe is deafened by this canine clamor.

It is undignified; it is distracting; it destroys confidence; it has rattled the nerves of a nerve-ruined continent, and we shall only make a real contribution to the restoration of Europe if at this conference we can stop the snarling. Europe

[American Cartoon]



"SAY IT WITH FLOWERS"

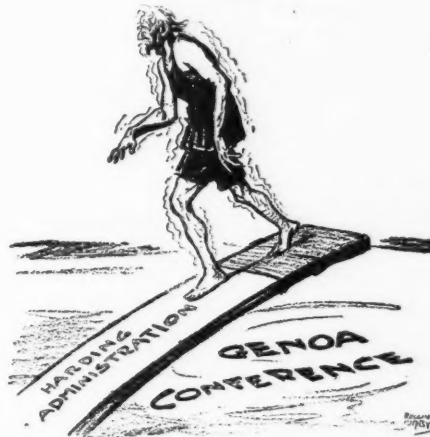
needs rest, quiet, tranquillity—that is, she needs peace.

If we act together in the same spirit we shall succeed. Not in a spirit of greedy vigilance over selfish interests, but with a common desire to do the best to restore the world to its normal condition of health and vigor. We shall do so if we measure the success of this conference by the good we achieve, not by the good we prevent. We must not roll boulders in front of the plow. Let us think more of what can be accomplished than what can be restricted.

WEIGHT OF PUBLIC OPINION

We have all of us one common restriction in the public opinion of our own countries. The public opinion of one country is concentrated perhaps more upon one aspect of affairs, the public opinion of another country upon a different aspect. That undoubtedly creates diffi-

[American Cartoon]



HE LOST HIS NERVE

culties. It is not easy to reconcile these divergent opinions, even when they are not conflicting.

But public opinion is not a rigid fact, like the Alps or the Apennines; it is amenable to guidance, to direction, to the appeal of reason and conscience, and I feel confident that in every way it will yield a good deal to an appeal made to its mind and heart by the common statesmanship of Europe. It can be taught that the good of another country is not necessarily an evil for its own; on the contrary, that which benefits all the lands must necessarily be best for its own.

The world is one economic unit. Economically it is not even two hemispheres—it is one round, unbroken sphere. For that reason I regret that the great American Republic is not represented here. However, much that has happened and is happening in Europe makes Americans cautious in interfering in our affairs. But if we can set these things right at this conference, I feel sure America will not merely come in, but come in gladly.

A distinguished citizen of this city once upon a time discovered America, and as Genoa in the past discovered America to Europe, I am hopeful that Genoa once more will render another immortal service to humanity by rediscovering Europe to America.

Thirty-four nations are represented at this table, and the interest taken in the conference by the world is by no means exhausted by that representation. The press of practically all the world is represented. These representatives would not be here if the great publics which, according to their genius, they either fortify and instruct or alarm and chasten, were not deeply concerned in our proceedings and anxious as to the results.

The world will follow our deliberations with alternate hopes and fears. If we fail, there will be a sense of despair which will sweep over the whole world; if we succeed, a ray of confidence will illuminate the gloom which is resting on the spirit of mankind.

Europe is the cradle of the great civilization which during the last 500 years has spread across the globe. That civilization has been menaced with destruction by the horrors of the last few years. But if we do our duty manfully, fearlessly, we shall prove by this conference, meeting as it does in a sacred week, that civilization is capable of achieving its exalted purpose by establishing on a firm basis peace and good-will among men.

FRENCH AIM "PEACE AND WORK"

M. Barthou, head of the French delegation, said in part:

"I bring to this conference, from which may result a new orientation for the world, the considered views and loyal support of France. When Mr. Lloyd George at the Cannes Conference took his noble initiative, France gave him immediate adhesion. * * * The world is tired of vain words and solemn declamations. We have come here to act. Europe is strewn with ruins. It would be madness to believe that an enchanted castle could rise from those ruins at one wave of a magic wand, but it would be madness more disastrous to sit by the road with folded hands because there was too much to do. The Geneva Conference cannot be, and will not be, a Court of Cassation, before which existing treaties will be called and judged and revised, but on all financial and economic questions, the solution of which means the restoration of tottering Europe, free discussion is open to all. * * * The French delegation will speak no word of hatred. It does not wish any one humiliated. It will act in the full light of day; it has no ideas and plans to conceal. It is animated by feelings of good-will and confidence, without which it would be useless, perhaps dangerous, to set to work. Peace and work are the program and watchword of France."

Each in turn, the spokesmen for the Japanese, Belgian, German and Russian delegations expressed the sentiments of their respective nations. Viscount Ishii explained that Japan wished to co-operate in the work of the conference because that country was suffering from the loss of European markets and the instability of exchange. He added, obviously with reference to the Siberian situation and as an intimation to the representative of the Siberian Far Eastern Republic, included among the Soviet Russian delegates, that Japan was also there to protect the interests of all Japanese subjects. M. Theunis, the Belgian Premier, then expressed his Government's

desire to co-operate with the conference in all its decisions.

It was with especial interest that the conference awaited the statements of the German and Russian leaders. The acceptance by Germany and Russia of the invitations to attend the conference had carried with it tacit acceptance of the conditions which Great Britain and France had laid down at Cannes, and which M. Poincaré, only a few days before the conference opened, had assured the French Parliament had remained unchanged. Would Chancellor Wirth or Foreign Minister Tschirch voice dissent to these fundamental stipulations? Herr Wirth soon satisfied curiosity on that score. He rose and read a long dissertation in German, filled with heavy economic generalities, which were translated by an interpreter who spoke bad French. Germany, he said, had come to work for the economic reconstruction of Europe. He spoke of the need of brotherly love and kindness in a disorganized world, of Germany's domestic difficulties and special needs. Of the question of reparations, however, the subject nearest his heart, he refrained from saying a word.

[American Cartoon]



—New York Tribune

"It's to prevent war, Miss. We prevent all our wars with it"

FRANCE STIRRED BY TCHITCHERIN

The first clear and unambiguous intimation of the perils of this first session came from the speech made by George Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister. Tall and angular, dark-eyed, gray-haired and gray-bearded, this former official of the Czarist régime, who has been one of the most-talked-of leaders of the Moscow Government, and whose official notes and wireless messages have for three years been relayed to every corner of the earth, made the impression of one who feels completely at home. He displayed the usual linguistic facility of the Russian intellectual by reading his address first in French and then in English. In high, nasal accents, he intimated his belief that the Genoa Conference would consider all of Europe's problems, and that it would be but the first of many successive conferences. He voiced the aim of his country thus: "Russia has not come here to do propaganda, but to co-operate in the economic reconstruction of the world." The

world, he added, needed Russia, and Russia needed the world. The Soviet Government was ready to give all fitting guarantees to the trading and business nationals of other countries on a basis of reciprocity. Russia was ready to grant concessions, and would open Siberia to the world.

Up to this point all was smooth going. But Tchitcherin's closing paragraph stirred up a hornet's nest. Russia, he said, was perfectly willing to talk disarmament. She was willing to reduce her army, provided that other nations reduced theirs and promised to let Russia alone.

Though it was nearly 7 o'clock, and time for adjournment, M. Barthou, the French spokesman, leaped to his feet, and in the most vigorous and combative spirit declared that France could not pass in silence the words that M. Tchitcherin had uttered regarding disarmament. The Genoa program was based on the Cannes program. The Cannes program would not set up a system of conferences opposed to the

League of Nations. Further, it had been agreed that there should be no discussion of disarmament at Genoa. If M. Tchitcherin or any one else proposed discussion of disarmament in this conference, M. Barthou declared, the answer of France was "a definite, categorical, decisive, final 'No.'"

M. Tchitcherin rose, and in reply quoted Premier Poincaré in a speech before the French Chamber to prove that the program of the Genoa Conference was not clear. He further quoted Lloyd George in his address before the British House to the effect that the Genoa Conference would be the first of a series, and lastly cited M. Briand's statement at the Washington Conference that the Russian Army ought to be reduced.

"Of course, the Moscow Government did not know what you agreed to at Boulogne," he said. "you did not tell us. But we did know that at Washington M. Briand told Mr. Hughes that France could not cut down her

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

AFTER ALL HE DID FOR HER IN 1917—
Does he deserve this?

army because Russia had a big one. We thought that if we offered to disarm, France could do so, and we would be helping all around. We are very sorry if we were wrong, and since we have been invited to confer, we will abide by the rules."

The applause which followed this sally, which was interpreted as a bit of clever irony, seemed discomfiting to M. Barthou. Before he could counter, Lloyd George rose to act as peacemaker. Smiling and urbane, he said that the Russian disarmament project was a worthy one, but that the conference's scope was already too extensive, and that universal disarmament would have to come later. A general conference, he admitted, would be a failure if it did not lead to disarmament, "but this conference is like a ship with a rough passage ahead, and we cannot overload it," he added. M. Tchitcherin attempted to reply, but Signor Facta, as Acting President, closed this particular debate. The French delegation, however, was not appeased until it received from Signor Facta a statement to the effect that all the delegations, by the mere fact of their coming, had accepted the Cannes principles. It was the general feeling that the quickness and tact of the British Premier had saved the situation, and that the first reefs of the conference's course had been passed.

Before adjournment, machinery was provided for the work before the conference by the appointment of three commissions—Finance, Commercial and Transport—composed of the delegates themselves, assisted by experts. Sir Robert Horne was made Chairman of the Finance Commission, the headship of the Commercial Commission fell to France, and of the Transport Commission to Belgium. A fourth body was created, named Commission No. 1, which took rank over all the others. To this body, representative of all the nations, was entrusted competence in respect to the first three of the Cannes resolutions, and also to peace guarantees and Russia. On the decision of this commission will depend the recognition or non-recognition of the Soviet Government.

SESSIONS OF SECOND DAY

One of the first acts of Commission No. 1 at the session of April 11 was to reduce

its large and unwieldy personnel by the appointment of an active sub-committee consisting of eleven members—one each from Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Germany and Russia, and four representatives from the remaining States. The States selected were Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Rumania. The committee as eventually formed was thus composed:

Signor Schanzer (Italy), Chairman.
Lloyd George (Great Britain).
M. Barthou (France).
M. Theunis (Belgium).
Baron Ishii (Japan).
Dr. Wirth, Herr von Rathenau, deputy (Germany).
M. Tchitcherin (Russia).
M. Motta (Switzerland).
M. Branting (Sweden).
M. Bratiano (Rumania).
M. Skirmunt (Poland).

The question of how this commission—perhaps the most powerful and important of all, from a political point of view—should be composed led to a new conflict with France and Russia again in the lead as the trouble-makers. An attempt by France, supported by Belgium, to have both Germany and Russia excluded from the committee, was vigorously rejected by Lloyd George. Tchitcherin objected to the presence of Japan upon the committee on the ground that that country was holding a portion of Siberia. His memorandum read thus: "Russia draws the attention of the committee to the anomalous character of the participation on a committee whose purpose is to establish economic relations between Russia and other countries on a solid basis, of Japan, whose troops at present occupy a part of the territory of the Republic of the Far East, ally of Russia." This demand was resented by Viscount Ishii, who declared that Japan would not withdraw. Signor Facta then addressed Tchitcherin and declared that no one nation could eliminate another which it did not like. M. Tchitcherin, however, again protested when Rumania was nominated for membership, on the ground that Rumania was occupying Bessarabia, which he declared to be Russian territory. The Rumanian delegates replied that the Allies had given them Bessarabia, which they declared to be rightfully theirs. Signor Facta balked Tchitcherin's attempts at further argument. The Russian Foreign Min-

[American Cartoon]



—New York World

OVER AGAIN

ister again came prominently to the fore when he demanded that Russia should have two delegates on the committee, on the ground that Russia had so much at stake in the matters which the committee would consider. This was contested by France, and Lloyd George settled the conflict by saying that the object was to have as small an organization as possible, but that M. Tchitcherin could bring some of his experts if he deemed it necessary. The full sub-committee was then definitely appointed.

No sooner had this body been created than the Hungarian delegates tried to have it consider the question of national minorities. As this would have led to countless appeals from various nations, and opened up many political and religious questions, Signor Facta ruled against it, saying that the League of Nations was considering this question, and that he would refer to another sub-committee the question of whether the conference should take up this question.

The sub-committee of Commission No. 1 met in the afternoon session of the same

day with the intention of studying the complex and thorny Russian problem. Lloyd George moved at the outset that the committee base its discussions on the report prepared by the allied experts in London some three weeks before. M. Tchitcherin made no protest, despite the fact that the Russian delegation had brought with it its own plan, which was understood to differ very materially from that drafted by the allied experts. He asked, however, that discussion of the London recommendations be deferred for a day or two, until he and his associates had had time to study them. This request was granted. Further delays were subsequently asked for and received by Tchitcherin, and nothing had been accomplished to the close of the week ended April 15.

Committee No. 2, on Finance, met on the afternoon of April 11 to organize. A sub-committee, also of eleven members, was ap-

pointed, on which the following countries were represented: England, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Finland.

SESSIONS OF THIRD DAY

All the four committees were organized by the next day (April 12) and were working strenuously. To each of them had been distributed copies of the specific recommendations of the allied experts in each field—Russia, Finance, Economics and Transportation.

In the allied proposals relating to Russia it is stated bluntly that if Russia expects to resume relations with the outside world, the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission) or kindred bodies sitting in secret and meting out arbitrary punishment to further the Soviet's political needs must be abolished, and Russia must set up a public judicial authority with professional judges independent of the Soviet. All law to be applied must be published, must be equal for all persons, and non-retroactive. Foreigners must be protected against arbitrary

arrest and invasion of their homes. There must be right of appeal. The execution of judgments must be guaranteed, especially commercial contracts, and arbitration awards, even when made in foreign countries, must be enforced. The Soviet Government must accept responsibility for the debts of the Imperial Russian Government and the Provisional Government, and accept a considerable number of other financial liabilities.

From the statements given out by the Soviet delegates, it was made clear that the Russian delegation as a whole was amazed and even staggered by the sweeping political changes—to say nothing of the wide scope of the financial clauses—suggested in the allied report. It was declared by them that the demands respecting the right of personal property and protection for foreigners contemplated changes in the Soviet Government which would virtually wipe out communism and impair Soviet sovereignty in its own dominion.

At its first business session, April 12, the sub-committee on finance discussed the necessity of bringing about equilibrium in national budgets, in order to secure the stabilization of the whole European situation. Sir Robert Horne, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, who presided, proposed an international conference of the great currency-issuing banks, including the American Reserve Banks. The committee decided to make the financial sections of the London experts' report the basis of its deliberations. M. Litvinov for the Soviet delegation obtained a delay in the discussion of these sections, on the ground that the meaning of them was not clear to himself and to his delegation. Dr. Hermes, for Germany, pointed out the difficulty facing his country in making its budget balance while obliged to make heavy payments externally. M. Rakovsky, the Soviet Ukrainian Premier, painted a rosy picture of Soviet Russia's finances. Emil Gluckstadt, Danish delegate, urged a rapid return to the gold standard, also special measures to restore credits in Germany, Austria and Hungary. The Chairman ruled that the financial questions connected with the reconstruction of France and Belgium should be taken up by the sub-committee on credit. The committee

reserved to itself the consideration of currency, and delegated the study of exchange to a second sub-committee. Sir Robert Horne outlined the financial goal of the conference as follows: First, to establish an agreement on the financial programs of all Governments; second, to achieve the financial equilibrium of the budgets of all States, and, third, the establishment of the gold standard as an effective monetary unit.

SESSIONS OF FOURTH DAY

At the following session, on April 13, the Financial Commission found itself faced with extensive financial demands by the Russians, voiced by M. Rakovsky. The Ukrainian Premier at first insisted on bringing up again the forbidden topic of disarmament, declaring that this was the primary condition of restoring financial stability in Europe. Sir Robert Horne reminded Rakovsky that this subject was taboo, and, after a verbal tilt, settled the matter by declaring that disarmament could not be discussed until after a general understanding had been reached in Europe. Rakovsky then made four separate proposals affecting finances: The Genoa Conference should discuss (1) the relation between English and American money to the money of all other countries (2) the distribution, by long-term non-interest-bearing loans, of the gold which America holds; (3) the fixing of the purchasing power of the dollar and pound sterling; (4) the flotation of a large international loan to the Soviet Government. After listening to these proposals the committee decided to appoint a sub-committee of experts to pass on them, rejecting Rakovsky's demand that this sub-committee include a Russian representative.

An attempt made by Italy to raise the question of the interallied debts was ruled out by the Chairman, on the ground that no decision could be reached without the participation and consent of the United States. Dr. Hermes's report to the commission, emphasizing Germany's inability to balance her budget in view of the burden of her foreign debt (*viz.*, reparations), went to the sub-commission.

This was the status of affairs at Genoa when these pages went to press, with the main issue—the problem of the Russian

situation—still deferred and waiting on the Soviet delegation's announcement that it was ready to discuss the London plan, alike political and financial. It was stated on April 13 that the three main allied figures at the conference—Lloyd George, Barthou and Schanzer—had held a special meeting to discuss the stubborn and aggressive attitude of the Soviet delegation.

The French were adamant in insisting on Soviet acceptance of the Russian debt to France, and Lloyd George was equally resolved on acceptance of far-reaching political changes. The British Premier meanwhile was endeavoring by a series of private conferences with Tchicherin and Litvinov, to bring the Russian delegation around to the allied point of view.

A GREEK VIEW OF THE TURKISH TREATY TERMS

By LOUIS GIORGOS

To the Editor of Current History:

The Greek Nation is facing a new crisis. With the Hellenic Army holding the railroad centres of Asia Minor and strong strategical positions along the Anatolian front, the military situation cannot be called bad; also, the financial condition of the country, though not easy, is far from being critical. The present crisis emanates from Paris and the Allies.

It may be recalled that this is not the first attempt of the Allies to solve the Anatolian problem. Another conference was held by them in the early part of last year, in which both Greece and Turkey were invited to participate. Both countries accepted and sent representatives to the conference. A few days were spent in deliberation, after which the Allies drew up and presented their plan for the Near Eastern settlement. The plan called for the revision of the Sèvres Treaty in favor of the Turks. Andrianople, with the surrounding territory, was to go back to Turkey, while Smyrna was to become autonomous under a Christian Governor appointed by the Allies. The plan was conveyed to Athens by the Greek representatives, with a request for an answer. It did not take the Greek Government long to answer. Its reply was to the effect that the Near Eastern settlement as proposed by the Allies was not acceptable to the Greek people. Greece decided to solve the problem by the cannon and bayonet.

The "Angora expedition," as it was called by the Greeks, was not a success in the full meaning of the word, but neither was it a failure. Though Angora was not captured, or the Turkish Army annihilated,

the Greeks succeeded in inflicting serious losses on the enemy and in destroying its means of transportation and communication. Furthermore, the capture of Eski Shehr and Kutahia secured for the Greeks two important railroad centres, which gave them a decided advantage over the Turks and rendered their positions easier to defend against Turkish attacks. The line now held by the Greeks is very strong, and by taking advantage of the natural strongholds of the front they will be able to hold their ground indefinitely. The Greek Nation is not worrying over the military situation.

The Greek people, however, do not feel the same way toward the allied statesmen, or to the decision reached by them in Paris. They have seen that the attitude of some of them has not changed since last year, when they proposed revision of the Sèvres Treaty in favor of the Turks. Today, as a year ago, the wise old diplomats of Europe propose the evacuation of Asia Minor and a large percentage of Thrace as the only possible solution of the problem. This is preposterous. Evacuation of lands liberated from the Turks at the cost of thousands of dead and wounded and billions of money; condemnation of over a million Christians to annihilation by the Mohammedans; return of the poor unfortunates to the shadows after they have bathed in the sunshine—these things constitute a question which must be of concern not only to the Greeks, but to every Christian, peace-loving country, including America, whose sons fought and died in the belief that their death insured liberty and justice for all peoples, large as well as small.

116 West Second Street, Davenport, Iowa.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Ratification of the Four-Power Pacific Treaty and of all the other Arms Conference agreements—Progress of the Bonus bill—Drastic reductions in the army and navy—Terms of the Senate's tariff measure—The coal miners' strike

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE Four-Power Treaty was ratified by the Senate on March 24, by a vote of 67 to 27, four in excess of the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution. Twelve Democrats and fifty-five Republicans voted to ratify, while twenty-three Democrats and four Republicans voted to reject. The final action followed four hours of rollcalls, during which thirty-one amendments and reservations were voted upon. All but one—the Brandegee reservation—were rejected by large majorities.

The Brandegee reservation was adopted by 92 to 2, the two Senators who stood to the end in favor of unqualified ratification being Spencer (Republican) of Missouri and Williams (Democrat) of Mississippi.

TEXT OF AMENDED TREATY

The treaty signed by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan, as ratified by the Senate with one reservation, is as follows:

"ARTICLE 1—The high contracting parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean.

"If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the high contracting parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

"ARTICLE 2—If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly and separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

"ARTICLE 3—This agreement shall remain in force for ten years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force subject to the right

of any of the high contracting parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.

"ARTICLE 4—This agreement shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Great Britain and Japan, which was concluded at London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate.

"RESERVATION—The United States understands that under the statement in the preamble or under the terms of this treaty there is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join in any defense."

A dramatic feature of the debate preceding the ratification was the controversy precipitated by Senator Borah when he had read into the record what he asserted was a stenographic copy of remarks made by Paul D. Cravath at a dinner of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on Feb. 17 last, in which Mr. Cravath was quoted as having said that an understanding directed against Japan existed between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, and that this understanding justified the assumption "that in all future emergencies they can count on having the very closest co-operation."

A spirited debate at once ensued. Senator Underwood branded the statement alleged to have been made by Mr. Cravath as false from beginning to end.

"To let it go out," he said, "that the American delegation—the only agents authorized to speak in this matter, except the President of the United States himself—had deliberately signed a peace contract with the Empire of Japan, and then had entered into a secret agreement with the Government of Great Britain would be infamous if it were true. I say it is absolutely untrue, and I would call it by the stronger name it deserves if I were not speaking on the floor of the Senate of the United States."

Senator Lodge, the Republican leader, declared that the Cravath remarks, if made, were an attack on the honor of the President and the delegates, and that had such an understanding been

arrived at, it would have constituted nothing less than infamy.

The charge elicited prompt and vigorous denials also from the White House and the State Department. At the former, it was declared that the United States had no secret understanding with any nation, and that in the opinion of the President it was not only inexcusable but "outrageous" for any person to suggest that this Government could be so "perfidious" as to enter into a solemn agreement with Japan and then turn around and seek to undermine her.

Secretary Hughes branded as "absolutely false" any statement that sought to give the impression that the United States and Great Britain had any secret understanding regarding Pacific questions. The Secretary conveyed his denial to the Senate in the form of a letter to Senator Lodge, in which he expressed the hope that from now on "the American delegates will be saved further aspersions upon their veracity and honor."

Mr. Cravath, when questioned regarding the matter, gave out a statement in which he said:

"There is not the slightest foundation for this charge. I never made the statement attributed to me or any statement resembling it. * * *

What I have said in substance on more than one occasion is that the successful and sympathetic co-operation between the American and British delegations to the Washington conference, which is a matter of public knowledge, augurs well for future co-operation between those nations in dealing intelligently and effectively with the problems of the Pacific."

SUPPLEMENTS TO TREATY RATIFIED

The supplement to the Four-Power Treaty, by which the mainland of Japan is excluded from the scope of the main treaty, and the much-contested declaratory statement which reserves American rights in mandated islands and bars from the scope of the treaty all questions that are purely domestic, were linked together in the Senate on March 27, at the suggestion of Senator Lodge, and were then ratified by a vote of 73 to 0. This ended the snarl resulting from the parliamentary question raised by the Democrats as to the status of the "declaratory statement."

Five hours of debate preceded the final vote, opponents of the treaties insisting to the last that the supplementary treaty, as well as the declara-

[American Cartoon]



—Stockton Record, Stockton, Cal.

TOUGH GOING, BUT IT GOT THROUGH

[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Tribune

IF THE SHIP SUBSIDY PASSES

tion; should have been written into the main compact, and arguing that failure of the American delegation to do this would permit Japan to accept the Four-Power Treaty and reject the supplementary instruments, with the result that the Japanese homeland would remain, in the main, compact, while jurisdiction over domestic questions would still be in doubt.

The resolution, as amended and passed, read:

"Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of executive O, Sixty-seventh Congress, second session, an agreement between the United States, the British Empire, France and Japan, supplementary to the treaty between the same four powers, relating to their insular possessions and insular dominions, and defining the application of the term 'insular possessions and insular dominions' as relating to Japan, signed at Washington, Feb. 6, 1922, subject to the following reservation and understanding, which is hereby made a part of and condition of this resolution of ratification, and which repeats the declaration of intent and understanding made by the representatives of the powers, signatories of the Four-Power Treaty relating to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific Ocean:

"1. That the Four-Power Treaty, relating to Pacific possessions, shall apply to the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean; provided, however, that the making of this treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to the mandates and shall not preclude agreements between the United States of America and the mandatory powers respectively in relating to the mandated islands.

"2. That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article I. of the Four-Power Treaty relating to Pacific possessions refers shall not be taken to embrace questions which, according to principles of international law, lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective powers."

OTHER TREATIES RATIFIED

The treaties for the limitation of naval armaments and regulating the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare were ratified by the Senate, without reservation, on March 29, the first by a vote of 74 to 1 and the second unanimously. Senator France (Republican) of Maryland was the lone opponent of the naval treaty. It was supported by 48 Republicans and 26 Democrats. The ratification occurred after three hours of debate.

On March 30 the treaties relating to China were adopted, one enunciating an international policy in regard to that country and the other providing for a revision of the Chinese customs. The vote on the first treaty was unanimous in the affirmative, 66 to 0. On the other treaty the vote was 58 to 1, Senator King of Utah alone opposing it.

Secretary Hughes, on March 31, sent notes to the powers participating in the Washington conference, notifying them of the ratification by the Senate of all the conference treaties. The notes

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

ANOTHER MONSTER REPORTED OUT

[American Cartoon]



—Tacoma News-Tribune

IF THE HOUSE HAD ITS WAY

added that the United States Government was ready to exchange ratifications at the convenience of the other Governments.

BONUS BILL PASSED BY HOUSE

After a tense four hours' debate, accentuating factional and partisan divisions, the House of

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

NOW, ISN'T THAT JUST LIKE A MAN?

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

In Spite of All the "Bitter Enders" Could Do to Prevent It—the Cage Door Was Pried Open

Representatives, on March 23, passed the Bonus bill by a vote of 333 to 70. The message was rushed through under a suspension of the rules, which required a two-thirds vote. This was readily obtained, with sixty-four votes to spare.

Party lines were broken in the final vote. Of the Republicans, 242 voted in favor of the bill, while forty-two opposed it. Ninety Democrats supported the measure and twenty-eight opposed.

Representative London, the only Socialist, voted in the affirmative. All but ten of the forty-two Republicans who opposed the bill were from the New England and Middle States, eleven New York Representatives and four from New Jersey being counted on that side. Of the twenty-eight Democratic opponents, a large proportion came from Texas and Virginia.

The occasion brought the largest House attendance in a long time, 407 out of 435 members being present. The galleries were crowded, largely with supporters of the bonus. Many ex-service men were massed in one section. Eighty speeches were made during the debate, most of these by opponents of the measure. When the result of the vote was announced, there was a prolonged cheer by those in the galleries, in which the majority on the floor joined. This bill was sent to the Senate, where it was referred to the Finance Committee.

[The main features of the Bonus bill and its estimated cost were given in the April number of CURRENT HISTORY, page 137 et seq.]

REDUCING THE REGULAR ARMY

The House, on March 29, passed the Army Appropriation bill, carrying approximately \$288,000,000 to meet military and non-military expenses of the War Department during the coming fiscal year. The measure was passed without a rollcall. As sent to the Senate, the measure provided that, by July 1, the enlisted strength of the regular army must be reduced to 115,000 men, exclusive of 7,000 Philippine scouts, and the number of officers decreased to 11,000.

The principal changes made in the bill by the House were the elimination of a provision that all troops stationed in China and a part of those on duty in Hawaii, the Panama Canal Zone and on the Rhine should be returned to the United States by July 1, and the adoption of an amendment increasing by \$15,000,000 the amount carried as a lump sum toward continuation of work during the coming fiscal year on various river and harbor projects. As framed, the bill carried approximately \$116,000,000 less than the amount appropriated for War Department activities during the current fiscal year and a reduction of nearly \$88,000,000 from Budget Bureau estimates. House amendments added about \$18,000,000 to the total.

The bill was severely criticised by General Pershing, Chief of Staff, and Major Gen. Harbord, Deputy Chief of Staff, at the National Press Club on March 29. General Pershing declared that the reduction in enlisted forces introduced "an unwarranted element of danger in our plan of national defense," and General Harbord asserted that "the country traveled in a vicious circle of unpreparedness and post-war economy."

PROPOSED NAVY REDUCTION

The Navy bill reported to the House on April 8 proposed to reduce the enlisted personnel of the navy from 106,000 to 67,000 men. This strength, the committee contended, would be sufficient to man the treaty navy of eighteen battleships and

WHAT THE WORLD WAR VETERANS ARE RECEIVING

The following table and those on the opposite page are from an official statement of the United States Bureau of Budget. The table of "Principal Operations of Veterans' Bureau" gives detailed figures of what had been done for veterans up to Feb. 1, 1922.

Comparative table of annual pensions of allied countries in comparison with compensation paid by United States, per annum.

TOTAL PERMANENT DISABILITY (MAN ALONE)

Great Britain	£104
(Value in United States dollars, \$376.48.)	
Canada	\$600
(Value in United States dollars, \$540.)	
France	francs 4,000
(Value in United States dollars, \$314.)	
Italy	lire 1,260
(Value in United States dollars, \$55.44.)	
United States	\$1,200

In addition to compensation benefits, above referred to, the United States also pays insurance; if the ex-soldier becomes permanently and totally disabled, his insurance policy matures and he receives such payments in addition to payments of compensation.

Compensation at the rate of \$8 per month was all that was allowed soldiers of the Civil War who were disabled in the struggle to save the Union for twenty-five years after the Civil War, and now sixty years after the Civil War disabled veterans are allowed \$50 per month, or in case of absolute helplessness \$72 per month.

Spanish-American War veterans for twenty years after the close of the Spanish War were only allowed \$30 per month for commissioned officers of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and higher rank who were totally disabled and \$8 per month for noncommissioned officers and privates who were totally disabled. Spanish-American War veterans are now limited to a maximum of \$30 per month and a minimum of \$12 per month, depending upon degree of disability.

The United States has spent as much as both France and Great Britain combined for benefits in favor of disabled ex-service men, despite the fact that the casualties of France and Great Britain were far greater.

the auxiliary fleet and maintain the 5-5-3 ratio. In a statement, issued the same afternoon, Secretary Denby denied this, asserting that, with the reduced enlistment, only thirteen battleships could be kept afloat as a fighting force. He declared that the United States Navy, instead of ranking with that of Great Britain, would fall to second or third place, and that the reduced personnel was two-thirds less than that provided by Great Britain for her treaty navy and less than that of Japan's navy.

The bill made no reduction in the officers of the line and staff, but did not provide for 389 reserve officers and for half of the 535 graduates of this year's Naval Academy class. It carried an appropriation of \$233,324,008, of which amount \$229,744,108 was for naval service, representing a reduction of \$180,929,181 in the amount appropriated for the maintenance and expansion of the navy for the current fiscal year.

The position taken by Secretary Denby was sustained in a letter written by Secretary Hughes to Representative Rogers of Massachusetts, in which he said, in part:

"The American delegates were able to effect an agreement in this difficult and important matter (the 5-5-3 ratio) because they asked for limitations in proportion to existing naval strength. A very large reduction was thus effected, while national security was left unimpaired. To alter that relation would be a very serious matter for the United States, both impairing its prestige and putting its security in jeopardy. It

would be truly extraordinary and a manifest reflection on the work of the conference if the navy of the United States were reduced below the standard thus established. * * * Are we to impair our existing relative strength and accept an inferior position? I should suppose that such a proposition would require only to be stated, and that no one would defend it."

Criticism of the proposed reduction was voiced also by Rear Admiral W. S. Sims. [See also the article by Admiral Sims elsewhere in this issue.] At a meeting in New York on April 6, held to commemorate the entrance of America into the World War, he said, in part:

"A navy that cannot win is a useless expense. This is preparation for defeat. It means future sacrifices similar to those experienced in the great war—more dead veterans over whom to hold memorial services. The remedy is action on the part of the people themselves—such an extensive expression of public opinion as to be really effective. This is not so much a matter for organized effort as for individual expression. If you really wish effectively to honor your veterans and your dead, do something to assure those still living that they will not be sacrificed by unpreparedness."

SENATE TARIFF BILL

The general Tariff Revision bill, intended to take the place of the Underwood tariff law enacted in 1913, was reported to the Senate on April 11 from the Committee on Finance. Acknowledgment

Principal Operations of Veterans' Bureau

INSURANCE

Number of claims received.....	172,849
Number of claims allowed.....	150,971
Commuted value of claims allowed.....	\$1,323,206,545.98
Amount paid in awards to date.....	\$294,621,689.83
Amount paid out in January.....	\$9,432,913.51

COMPENSATION

Claims received	775,812
Claims allowed	388,069
Claims active	204,133
Commuted value of claims allowed....	\$13,158,758.32
Amount paid in awards to date.....	\$310,149,892.17
Amount paid in January.....	\$10,194,506.92

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Number of applications.....	508,726
Number entered training.....	138,524
Number now in training.....	104,923
Disbursements to date.....	\$226,293,259.70
Disbursements in January.....	\$15,012,960.75

HOSPITALIZATION

Total number of admissions to hospitals to date.....	212,131
Number in hospitals:	
Tuberculosis	12,198
Neuropsychiatric	8,833
General and surgical....	9,614

Total	30,645
Disbursements for medical and hospital services	\$105,655,210.91
Disbursements monthly	\$6,500,000.00

The assumed liability of the Government by reason of insurance awards amounts to \$860,154,493. This figure is arrived at by deducting the premiums collected from ex-service men, so that the total expenditure by the Government for disabled ex-service men amounts to \$2,427,491,285. To this amount also might be added \$256,239,900, which represents the \$60 bonus given to every ex-service man upon his discharge from military or naval service, which would make a total of \$2,683,721,185; to this there might be added \$18,600,000, the amount appropriated for the construction of hospitals, which would make a grand total expenditure to ex-service men of \$2,702,321,185.

Allowances by the various Governments for benefits of families of soldiers while they were absent in the military or naval service.

Per Annum.

France	\$50.15
Great Britain.....	202.36
Italy	11.24
United States	360.00

The United States has approved for vocational training 303,276, and 104,923 are still in training. The Minister of Labor States that England, under the Labor Ministry's scheme, has approved 58,000 ex-service men for training, and 24,000 are in training.

Rates of pay for enlisted men

Per Month.

Great Britain	\$11.40
France	1.50
Japan	1.78
Italy	1.58
United States	30.00
United States (if overseas)	33.00

Table showing total amounts paid to soldiers of the various wars in which the United States has been engaged from 1790 to 1917.

Revolutionary

War	\$70,000,000
War of 1812....	46,054,572
Indian War	20,017,919
Mexican War ..	54,471,001
Civil War	5,749,030,456
War with Spain and Philippine insurrection ..	76,000,000

GENERAL SUMMARY

The Government of the United States is now: Paying out over \$1,000,000 in cash every day, including Sunday, directly into the hands of the ex-service man or his dependents.

Providing, without cost, hospital care and treatment to 30,000 veterans. This care includes board and lodging and represents an expenditure by the Government of \$60,000,000 per annum.

Giving vocational training, without cost, to over 100,000 disabled ex-service men at an expenditure for tuition and supervision of \$30,000,000 per annum.

Mailing out 650,000 checks every month, representing \$42,000,000.

Conducting an insurance business for over 600,

000 ex-service men without any cost of administration to them. Insurance in force: Three and one-half billions.

Conducting over 50,000 medical examinations every month.

Giving outside treatment in cases where hospitalization is not required to 20,000 ex-service men every month.

Receiving 1,000 new claims every day in addition to the 1,200,000 already on file; employing 4,000 ex-service men and women on the work.

Requiring for 1922 expenditures in behalf of the disabled ex-service man, \$510,000,000—more than the entire expenditure of the whole United States in 1897.

edged to be a protective tariff measure, it, in general, increased the rates of the Underwood law and was based largely on the rates in the Payne-Aldrich act of 1909.

In general, the specific duties of the Senate bill are higher than the bill as it passed the House, but ad valorem rates are lower. This is due mainly to the fact that the Senate Committee on Finance rejected the provisions of the House bill for assessing duties on the American-valuation plan and substituted a plan of assessment on foreign values.

The bill was reported by Senator Porter J. McCumber, the new Chairman of the Committee on Finance, who succeeded the late Senator Penrose at the beginning of the year. With the bill, he submitted a report which explained the general scope and some of the details of the measure.

The report said that the committee had "endeavored to recommend rates sufficient to maintain essential industries created as a result of the war and consideration vital to the future industrial independence of the American people." These new industries include coal-tar dyes and medicinal products, long staple cotton, the hemp industry of Wisconsin, the magnesite and potash mining industry, walnut, almond and citric acids industries in the West, and new chemical and optical glassware manufactures.

The committee also explained that it amended the House measure to conform with views expressed by President Harding, and with that purpose provided for giving the President authority, as follows, the language being that of the report:

"To modify tariff rates either upward or downward within prescribed limits and in accordance with definite rules laid down by Congress, so that the rates may at all times conform to existing conditions.

"To change the basis for the assessment of ad valorem duties on selected items from the for-

eign value to the value of the domestic article in the American market when the foreign value is not a certain basis for the assessment of duties on such items. [This is a concession to the House, whose American-valuation plan was thrown overboard by the Senate committee. House tariff leaders say, however, that they will never agree to the substitution of the foreign-valuation plan for theirs, and claim that a large number of Senators sympathize with the House provision.]

"To impose additional duties on the whole or any part of the imports into the United States from any country which discriminates against our overseas commerce, these additional duties are limited to the amount of the discrimination, but if the discrimination is maintained they may be exported by prohibition."

There had been criticism of these provisions on the ground that Congress has not the right to delegate tariff-rate fixing to the Executive, and the committee referred to this when it said: "These elastic-tariff provisions are regarded by the committee as undoubtedly constitutional."

ADDITIONAL JUDGESHIPS CREATED

The Senate on April 7, by a vote of 44 to 21, passed the bill authorizing the President to appoint twenty-three additional United States District Court Judges, as a means of relieving Federal court congestion. During the debate that preceded the final ballot on amendments and on the bill itself, Senator Harrison of Mississippi, Democrat, charged that in apportioning the new Judgeships the Republican Party had found a way to give, with a few exceptions, all the Judges to States in which that party was facing hard fighting in the approaching campaign. Despite the assertions of Senator Harrison, the battle on the floor of the Senate was, generally speaking, along non-political lines, the final vote showing eight Republicans and thirteen Democrats against eight Democrats and thirty-six Republicans for the measure.

The new Judges go to the following States: Southern District of New York, 2; Eastern District of New York, 1; District of Massachusetts, 2; Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1; Western District of Pennsylvania, 1; Northern District of Texas, 1; Eastern District of Michigan, 1; Northern District of Ohio, 1; Northern District of Illinois, 1; District of Minnesota, 1; Eastern District of Missouri, 1; Western District of Missouri, 1; District of New Jersey, 1; Northern District of Florida, 1; District of New Mexico, 1; Eastern District of Oklahoma, 1; District of Montana, 1; Northern District of California, 1; Southern District of California, 1; Northern District of Georgia, 1, and District of Arizona, 1.

SUPREME COURT ON RENT LAWS

The constitutionality of the New York State rent laws was sustained March 20 in an opinion handed down by Justice Clarke, which held that a State has wide police powers in regulating rentals. Justices McKenna, Van Devanter and McReynolds dissented. The essential question

[American Cartoon]



—New York World

THE END OF THE ADVENTURE

was the validity of the emergency housing laws passed by the New York Legislature in 1920, under which tenants were allowed to continue in possession until Nov. 1, 1922, through the payment of a reasonable rental to be determined by the courts.

"Given a constitutional substantive statute, enacted to give effect to a constitutional purpose," it was declared in the opinion, "the States have a wide discretion in the remedies which may be deemed necessary to achieve such a result, and it is very clear that the discretion has not been exceeded in this instance by the State of New York."

SHAKE-UP IN ENGRAVING BUREAU

By an executive order, on March 31, President Harding summarily dismissed James L. Wilmeth, Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and twenty-five chiefs, superintendents and foremen, including every important executive in the big Government plant which turns out currency, notes and postage stamps. In addition, seventeen other employes lost their places by abolition of their positions. The same executive order appointed Louis A. Hill to be Assistant Chief of the Engraving Division, succeeding Mr. Wilmeth, and other appointments were made to fill some of the vacant places. The only reason given for the wholesale removals was contained in a White House statement that the action was taken "for the good of the service."

All the divisions of the bureau were ordered closed on April 8 by Secretary Mellon for an inventory of the stock, valued at a very large amount. With reference to various rumors that this order occasioned, Secretary Mellon said in a formal statement:

"The statements appearing in various newspapers to the effect that a vast volume of duplicate bonds and other securities have been fraudulently issued and are in circulation are wholly without foundation. There has been no evidence developed of any such situation, either in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing or elsewhere in the Treasury Department."

COAL MINERS' STRIKE

The bituminous coal strike, which had been long threatened, went into operation on April 1, as scheduled. The strike order was generally obeyed. Operations came practically to a standstill in approximately 6,000 of America's 7,700 coal mines. More than 400,000 soft-coal miners went out, and these were supported by 115,000 miners in the hard-coal fields. The loss in production during the period of idleness was estimated at 1,200,000 tons of soft coal daily and 300,000 tons of anthracite. The loss to the miners in wages was figured at \$3,000,000 daily.

This menace to the industrial welfare of the nation did not go into effect without a warning on the part of the Federal authorities. Secretary Davis of the Department of Labor issued a statement on March 30, which was accepted as the Government's official summing-up of the situation. Blame for the failure of the Administra-

tion's effort to avert the strike was placed on the bituminous operators, who refused to meet the miners in a preliminary conference to negotiate new wage scales. This refusal Secretary Davis termed a breach of faith and a repudiation of signed obligations. He contrasted this attitude with that of the anthracite operators and took a hopeful view of the anthracite situation, based on the operators' and miners' "genuine desire to agree." The Government, he stated, would guard workers, but otherwise would remain neutral.

As an aid in bringing the two sides together, Attorney General Daugherty intimated, in a letter to Representative Brand of Indiana, made public on April 6, that if the operators should take part in a conference proposed by the House Labor Committee they would be immune from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust act. Referring to previous indictments found against them for analogous acts before he assumed office, the Attorney General said:

"While the Department of Justice has not been officially asked by anybody to state the position of the department in regard to these indictments, or in regard to seeking other indictments in case such a meeting as has been under discussion recently should be held, I have, in public statements and private conversations, very frankly stated that, considering the agreement, two years ago, between the miners and operators in this particular field, and, it may be said, the Government's participating in that agreement, that a meeting should be held prior to the 31st day of March, 1922, I felt it the duty of the operators and miners to hold such a meeting. Both sides have known all along (informally) that it was my judgment that a meeting should be held, because of the particular situation with reference to the meeting which had previously been held, which provided, upon adjournment, for

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

THE USUAL CASUALTY

a subsequent meeting, and to which agreement the Government was more or less a party.

"Now, having taken that position, is it likely that the Department of Justice would undertake a prosecution against men for doing a thing which it advised, under the circumstances, should be done?"

CHARGES AGAINST SECRETARY WEEKS

An attack upon Secretary of War Weeks was made on April 11 in the House by Representative Johnson of South Dakota and Woodruff of Michigan, both Republicans and members of the Special War Investigating Committee, who charged that there had been fraud in the handling of contracts in the War Department under Mr. Weeks's administration. The allegation was also made that Mr. Weeks, as a member of the firm of Hornblower & Weeks, had received a block of Bosch Magneto stock as the result of the sale of that property by the Alien Property Custodian.

Secretary Weeks replied the following day, inviting an investigation by Congress. He said that the War Department had 150,000 contracts to audit, had already audited 15,000, and he had nothing to conceal. The statement issued by the Secretary, which followed a consultation with President Harding, was, in part, as follows:

"If Congress thinks it judicious to make an investigation, the department will welcome it, with the assurance that it will demonstrate the good work which has been done during the last thirteen months with regard to claims, sales, and in every respect. There is, however, one personal matter connected with the charges made, in more or less direct form, about which I feel I must make explicit comment. It relates to the sale of the American Bosch Magneto Company stock. I am told that this company was sold by the Alien Property Custodian at public auction, the purchase being made through the firm of Hornblower & Weeks, with which I was at one time connected, and the statement has been made in the press that, as a result of that transaction, I received a block of Bosch stock.

"To that I have this comment to make: I retired from the firm of Hornblower & Weeks when I entered the United States Senate in 1913, and from all other business matters with which I was then connected, and I have never renewed any of those connections or made others. I never had any interest, financially or otherwise, in any war contract; I never received a block of American Bosch stock, or any other issued during the war; I never heard of the Bosch Company until the sale was made and long after the stock was put on the market. I think my relationship to my old firm, in which I have every confidence as to its honesty and businesslike conduct, has been generally known, and that any attempt to connect me with its business or any other business is purely malicious. I would, personally, welcome any investigation of that matter."

In connection with the charges made by Representative Woodruff, the latter stated that he would prefer impeachment charges against At-

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

All Right, Since We've Got to Have a Strike,
Let's All Get Into It

torney General Daugherty if the latter did not become more active in starting prosecutions.

FOREIGN-BORN WHO CANNOT TALK ENGLISH

The Census Bureau announced, on March 29, that 11 per cent. of the foreign-born white population in the United States, 10 years of age or older, were unable to speak English, according to the 1920 census. The number was 1,488,948, out of a total foreign-born population more than 10 years of age of 13,497,886.

The bureau attributed the decrease to several causes, citing that many immigrants who could not speak English in 1910 had since learned the language, died or returned to their native countries; that the number who could not speak English arriving during the last decade was smaller than in the previous ten years, and that a majority of these had come to this country prior to Aug. 1, 1914, and therefore had had time to learn the language before the census was taken.

In Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, where more than two-thirds of the foreign white inhabitants were born in Mexico, the percentages unable to speak English were, respectively, 51.7 per cent., 49.4 per cent. and 51.9 per cent. The next highest percentages unable to speak English were in West Virginia, 18.3 per cent., and in Florida, 18.8 per cent., while the smallest proportions were shown in South Carolina, 1.8; Georgia, 1.8; Kentucky, 2.2; North Carolina, 2.7; District of Columbia, 2.8; Washington, 3.2; Oregon, 3.3; Tennessee, 3.3; Montana, 3.4; Virginia, 3.7; Utah, 4.1; Alabama, 4.2, and Iowa, 4.3.

ALIENS ADMITTED

The House on March 16 passed a resolution under which 2,400 aliens, admitted temporarily to the United States prior to March 7 in excess of the 3 per cent. quotas of the restrictive immigration law, would be permitted to remain in the country permanently. Charges that certain steamship companies and alien groups in the United States were "corrupting and debauching the immigration service" were made by Representative Box (Democrat) of Texas, who opposed the measure. Representative Johnson (Republican) of Washington, urging passage of the resolution, said it would grant relief in certain cases which had arisen in the operation of a new and untried plan for the restriction of immigration. He said that most of the 2,400 aliens temporarily admitted would be subject to deportation on March 23 if the relief resolution were not enacted.

The Senate Committee on Immigration voted on April 3 to report favorably a bill extending the present 3 per cent. quota of immigration for two years—to July 1, 1924. The bill had already passed the House.

BEST WAGES PAID TO RAILROAD LABOR

The National Industrial Conference Board announced on March 26 that a survey made by its experts showed that average railroad wage earnings, expressed either in dollars or in purchasing power, are still considerably higher than the average wage earnings of corresponding workers in private manufacturing industries. Part of the statement read:

"The report shows that the average hourly earnings of all railroad wage earners except executives, clerks and managerial assistants, were 25.4 cents in 1914 and rose to 70.2 cents in November, 1920, indicating a net gain of 176 per cent. After the wage cut of July, 1921, average hourly earnings fell to 58.9 cents, leaving a net gain over 1914 of 132 per cent. in actual hourly earnings. In the beginning of July, 1921, however, average hourly earnings in manufacturing industry stood at 55.4 cents, as compared with 58.9 cents for railroad labor, leaving a net gain over 1914 for industrial workers generally of 113 per cent., as compared with 132 for railroad labor.

"Taking into account the changes in the cost of living during these periods, the investigation shows that by July, 1921, the real hourly earnings of all railroad wage earners had increased 42 per cent. over 1914, as contrasted with a net gain of 32 per cent. in real hourly earnings for wage earners in manufacturing industry. Real weekly earnings of all railroad labor during this period showed a net gain of 20 per cent. over 1914, as compared with a net gain of 13 per cent. for workers in manufacturing industries generally."

LATE APPOINTMENTS

President Harding on March 27 nominated William Phillips of Massachusetts, now Minister to the Netherlands, to be Under Secretary of

State, to succeed Henry P. Fletcher, and Leland Harrison of Illinois to be Assistant Secretary of State, succeeding Fred M. Deering. Mr. Phillips has spent seventeen years in the diplomatic service. He was private secretary to Ambassador Choate at London, a secretary to the Peking Legation, Assistant Secretary of State at Washington and secretary of the London Embassy. Mr. Harrison is a native of New York State and was graduated from Harvard in 1907. He has held posts at Peking, London and Bogotá successively, and served as diplomatic secretary of the American peace delegation at Paris in 1919. For the last year he has been detailed to the State Department on special duty.

CLASHES IN PORTO RICO

E. Mont Reily, Governor of Porto Rico, Auditor Kessinger, and Governor Reily's private secretary, John Hull, were charged in a Grand Jury presentment in San Juan on April 7 with misuse of public funds for private purposes. Four sums totaling \$2,400 were withdrawn from the insular Treasury to pay for Mr. Reily's trip to Washington and for two inaugural trips over the island. Governor Reily, testifying before the Grand Jury, said he had not turned in a surplus because he was waiting for the expense account of one of his commissioners. The latter, it is said, testified that he paid his own expenses and presented no bill for reimbursement. The private secretary on March 19 returned \$419. Governor Reily on April 8 wrote to the Attorney General demanding an immediate investigation of the charges. Felix Cordova Davila, resident Commissioner of Porto Rico, on April 4 reiterated in the House his demand for a Congressional investigation of Mr. Reily's acts, declaring him "morally and mentally unfit to govern the island."

Governor Reily on April 11 dismissed District Attorney R. Diaz Collazo, who was drawing up the indictment against him. The District Attorney refused to surrender his office on the ground that he had been illegally removed. He was then forcibly ousted with the aid of the police. The Assistant Attorney General personally carried away from the District Attorney's office all the evidence in the investigation of Governor Reily. The San Juan Times of April 12 published a letter which Governor Reily had written to District Attorney Collazo containing a statement that the District Attorney, before his removal, had requested the Governor to appoint him to another office. Señor Collazo said he made this request to avoid the embarrassment created by the Grand Jury's recent direction to proceed against the Governor and other officials for the alleged misuse of public money.

The United States Supreme Court on April 10 decided that the right of trial by jury for misdemeanors does not exist in Porto Rico. Chief Justice Taft, who delivered the opinion, held that Porto Rico had not been incorporated into the Union, and Congress had avoided forcing a jury system on a Spanish civil law country until it desired it.

CENTRAL AMERICAN READJUSTMENTS

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

GUATEMALA

PRESIDENT ORELLANA is ordering the release of political prisoners after full investigation of their cases. The object is to hold for trial only the actual authors of the February election assassinations in Guatemala. The President, in a message to Congress, asked for a law granting general amnesty for all political prisoners, but this met with serious opposition.

NICARAGUA

Martial law for thirty days was proclaimed in Nicaragua on April 6, following the discovery of an alleged plot against President Chamorro's Government. Thirty-four members of the Liberal Party were arrested charged with conspiracy.

SALVADOR

A new link in the International Railway of Central America was opened on March 17 with the arrival at San Salvador of the first train from Zacatecoluca, forty-five miles distant. The railway is designed to unite the Central American republics, and later to form part of the Pan-American Railway, completing an all-rail route between New York and Buenos Aires.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Hearing of appeals to prevent collection of rental and fuel and light charges from more than 3,000 American employees of the Panama Canal zone was concluded in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans on April 4, decision being announced in favor of the Government on April 11. The charges amount to more than \$600,000 annually, and three preceding administrations granted the employees these privileges free.

CUBA

Cuba has granted a further extension of 120 days for clearance before any forced sales for the payment of customs duties are begun on undelivered merchandise in bonded warehouses. This decision was called forth by a protest from Washington against the proposed sale in April of over \$60,000,000 worth of goods sold by Americans to Cubans but not paid for. The extension runs until July 6, before which time the goods must be removed.

Removal of all restrictions on the sugar crop and the very large movement of sugar away from Cuba has materially benefited the island. The Senate Finance Committee, on March 21, voted 5 to 4 to fix the sugar duty at \$1.60 a hundred pounds. The Cuban Emergency Committee on April 5 petitioned for a reduction to \$1.40.

HAITI

Georges Sylvain, executive of the Union Patriotique of Haiti, reports that Phiteas Lemaire, publisher of the *Courier Haitien*, was condemned by the military court at Port-au-Prince to six months at hard labor and \$300 fine for having announced that a Haitian Lieutenant of gendarmerie, accused of having beaten a man, had been brought by his victim before a tribunal at Petit-Goave. The *Courier Haitien* was suspended by the military authorities. M. Sylvain declares that the real reason for the sentence was that the newspaper is the principal organ of the Nationalist press, indomitably opposed to the confiscation of its country's independence. He says the Haitian people also object to the proposed loan for \$14,000,000, which has been held up pending word from the Haitian Government. The belief is being disseminated in Haiti that General Russell's mission as American High Commissioner is not so much to investigate and report on murders and outrages by American marines as it is to secure authority from Haitian officials for the proposed loan.

Luis Borno, a prominent Haitian attorney and member of the Cabinet, on April 11, was elected President of the republic by the unanimous vote of the Legislature in succession to Sudre D'Artiguenave, whose term expires in May.

SANTO DOMINGO

The Dominican loan for \$6,700,000, against which the people of Santo Domingo protested last Autumn, was offered in New York in April at 94 1-2 and interest, to yield more than 6 per cent., by a syndicate of American bankers. The Dominican Military Government—that is, the American occupation—guarantees the acceptance and validation of the issue by any Government of the republic as a "legal, binding and irrevocable obligation" of the republic. Means by which this guarantee is to be made effective, should American occupation be withdrawn, are not indicated.

IN THE INTEREST OF ACCURACY

PROFESSOR CHARLES SAROLEA, who contributed a valuable article on Brazil to the April *CURRENT HISTORY*, was referred to in that issue as a Scotsman. He is professor of French in Edinburgh University, Scotland, but is a Belgian, a fact which sufficiently explains why the King and Queen of the Belgians invited him to accompany them on their trip to Brazil.

TOWARD SOUTH AMERICAN HARMONY

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

ARGENTINA

THE Ambassador at Washington, Mr. Tomas Le Breton, has been elected a Senator by the Buenos Aires constituency. His resignation from his diplomatic post followed immediately the announcement of his election to the Argentinian Senate. The triumph of the radical party in the election of April 2 came as a surprise for those who took the bitter and noisy opposition to President Irigoyen as an indication of real popular discontent with the party in power. Several public officials are accused of interfering with the freedom of the vote.

Brazil's diplomatic representative notified the Government of his country's acceptance of the convention for carrying out a plan of industrial exploitation, either jointly or separately, of the Iguazu Falls, one of the largest cataracts in the world, situated at the boundary of Brazil and Argentina. The Ministry of the Navy is conducting a test of the new process for refining oil, invented by two naval officers. Based on the insulating properties of oil, the process consists of a series of deposits through which is passed an electrical current of increasing voltage. Great economy of both time and space is claimed.

The long and bitter fight between the Western Union Telegraph and Cable and the All Americas Cables has been tentatively settled in accordance with a conciliatory formula. By virtue of this the first named company surrenders its monopolistic rights in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, while the All Americas renounces a similar privilege in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. The settlement was under the auspices of the United States Government, and after notifying the other Governments concerned, the companies are only waiting for their approval to put the agreement into effect. The Italian cable linking the Mediterranean ports and those of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina has been decided upon, and work will soon begin.

BRAZIL

Recent statistics show the rapid strides in the steel and iron industries in certain States of Brazil, especially in Minas Geraes and Rio Grande do Sul. Minas Geraes is a great producer of hematite and magnetite, two of the minerals richest in iron ore. In San Paulo the industry has found its most active centre, favored by climate, abundance of skilled labor and capital. The Federal Government also aids the industry by making duty-free the importation of machinery and using a good amount of the products of the foundries. Lately a system of Government credits has been added to the favoring policy. In Minas alone the estimate of existing iron ore is from 6,000,000,000 to 12,000,000,000 tons.

The approaching international exposition to

celebrate the first centenary of Brazil's independence, which was to be closed Nov. 15, 1922, will be kept open until March 31, 1923. In the million-dollar American Pavilion there will be exhibits of forestry, mines, fisheries and agriculture. The transfer of the bones of Estacio de Sa, the founder of Rio de Janeiro, to his new burial place has been made the occasion for a solemn display of official and public ceremonies.

To improve the commercial relations between Argentina and Brazil, the State Departments of both countries have decided to appoint a joint commission which shall be charged with finding the quickest and most advantageous means of accomplishing this purpose. The public as well as the Governments see great advantages, not only commercial, but also political, in the strengthening of friendship throughout the South American Continent. The same public response has welcomed the plans for building railroads to radiate to Paraguay, Bolivia and Uruguay. An expert from the Rio de Janeiro Technological Institute went to the department of Santa Cruz, Bolivia, where the projected railway from Corumba will stop after crossing the Mamore River, a tributary of the Amazon, over a bridge for the building of which Brazil will contribute \$1,000,000. At present Brazil can be reached by rail from the south only by way of the Uruguay Santa Catharina Railroad.

Answering the presentation speech made by Dr. Torre-Diaz, the new Mexican Ambassador in Rio, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, Dr. Azevedo-Marques, said that his Government had decided to reciprocate the distinction shown to the Brazilian nation in raising the rank of the Mexican diplomatic representative at Rio by appointing an Ambassador to represent Brazil in Mexico.

BOLIVIA

The Government has sent a note of thanks to President Brum for Uruguay's sympathetic attitude towards Bolivia in transmitting the latter's desire to Chile to be heard at the Washington conference between Peru and Chile. In official circles it was said that the Government was prepared to send a special delegation to Washington, in reference to which were mentioned the names of former Chancellor Don Alberto Gutierrez, Don Adolfo Ballivian, Minister in Washington; Don Ignacio Calderon, former Minister to the same capital, and Don Victor Aramayo. In view of the fact that President Harding did not extend to Bolivia his invitation to Chile and Peru to meet in Washington, it is believed such mission should be entirely unofficial and limited to the rank of an observer of events, except in so far as the development of the negotiations should afford them active participation.

CHILE

Great developments are expected of the conference to be held at Washington between representatives of Chile and Peru to discuss the final settlement of the difficulties involved in the fulfillment of the Treaty of Peace of 1883. Never before in the history of Chilean politics has the Government been able to harmonize the views of all parties as well as those of men representing the great currents of public opinion. The press is likewise unanimous in supporting the Government's endeavor to go as far as Chile can under the present circumstances toward meeting Peru's legitimate aspirations. Of the two Chilean delegates to the Washington conference, Luis Izquierdo, now Minister in Buenos Aires, is a man of "savoir-faire," able and cultivated, while his colleague, Mr. Aldunate, has specialized in jurisprudence and international law. The counselor of the Chilean delegation, Alejandro Alvarez, is internationally known as an authority in diplomatic affairs, an author of solid learning in matters international. In an interview given by President Alessandri of Chile to The Associated Press representative, he was emphatic in expressing his confidence that "neither Chile nor Peru can afford to let this opportunity slip by, when mankind is going through a period of peace and good will in the settlement of its difficulties."*

March, 1923, is the date fixed by suggestion of the Government for the fifth meeting of the Pan-American Conference at Santiago de Chile. The last meeting was held at Buenos Aires in 1910, and that planned for Santiago in 1914 had to be postponed on account of the World War. Chile expects to be able to present to the assembly, in homage to Pan-American friendship, the entire settlement of the gravest misunderstanding in South America, that of Tacna and Arica.

Chilean exports have increased considerably during the last month, especially the shipments of Chilean products to Europe. After laborious missionary work on the part of the President of the Republic, the cohesion of the liberal parties seems to be fairly assured. Radicals, liberals

*On Dec. 23, 1921, President Alessandri addressed a note to the Peruvian Government, asking that representatives of both countries be appointed to negotiate the settlement of the unfulfilled clauses of the Ancón Treaty. After an exchange of views, negotiations were dropped owing to the impossibility of attaining a similar point of view. Peru's intentness on demanding that the whole treaty be declared null and void, and the settlement of the whole territorial dispute, including the Province of Tarapaca, be referred to arbitration. On Jan. 17, President Harding sent notes to the Governments of Peru and Chile inviting them to meet at Washington, "on neutral and friendly soil," to negotiate directly an accord upon "the unfulfilled clauses of the Treaty of Peace," or else to find their way toward arbitration of the controversy, now more than thirty years old. Later, Bolivia presented its claims before the White House, asking to be represented in the negotiations. President Harding, however, on Feb. 28, declined to interfere, leaving the matter entirely to a mutual agreement between Chile and Peru. Therefore, Bolivia is not to be represented in the coming conference to be held in the Pan American Union Building, where the Disarmament Conference lasted to the early part of this year.

and democrats (corresponding to the progressive, the liberal and the labor groups, respectively) have signed a compact in order to insure a Parliamentary majority and the stability of the Cabinet.

ECUADOR

General Plaza, former President of the republic, has come out in a letter supporting the name of Don Julio Barbano-Aguirre for the next presidential election. The journal *El Comercio* appears skeptical as to the support of the general, but gives warning that the next President will be a man from the maritime departments. The names of Secretary of the Interior Trevino and the Minister to Washington, Senor Elizalde, have been mentioned in this connection, but the aforesaid newspaper thinks both hopeless.

Guayaquil is preparing to celebrate the centenary of the battle of Pichincha, May 24. A bronze plaque is to be placed at the foot of the statue of Marshal Sucre, the winner of the day under Bolivar. Congratulations are to be exchanged with the Municipal Council of Cumana, the birthplace of Sucre, and with the City of Sucre in Bolivia.

Several arrests have been made in connection with wide traffic in morphine recently discovered by the police. The President has ordered the confiscated alkaloid to be turned over to the hospitals for medicinal purposes.

PARAGUAY

The German Government has presented Paraguay with two aeroplanes, which, with a Caproni received as a present from the Italian Government, and the one already in possession of the Paraguayan army, are to form the basis of an aerial corps.

The youthful elements of the radical party continue their bitter opposition to the group headed by former President Schaerer, both sections pretending to be supporters of the Government and each trying to oust the other from the pay-roll of the State. A great sensation has been caused by the failure of the Banco de España and the imprisonment of its directors. The principal charge pressed against them is that they authorized a loan of 35,000,000 pesos to the Société Française d'Exportation, a sum of money three hundred and fifty times greater than the assets of the debtor company.

PERU

After political pourparlers and a most careful selection the Government has appointed as delegates to the Chile-Peruvian conference at Washington the former Minister of Foreign Relations, Dr. Meliton Porras and Señor Hernan Velarde, with Dr. Solon Polo as counselor. Dr. Porras has had a brilliant career. Having served twice in Chile on diplomatic missions, he is especially qualified to deal with the intricacies of the Pacific coast problem. Dr. Polo has also had a long diplomatic career, while Señor Velarde, besides being a man of solid preparation, is going to meet the Chileans at the diplomatic table after having fought them as private and as officer during the war, forty years ago.

MEXICO'S APPROACH TO RECOGNITION

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

RECOGNITION of President Obregon's administration in Mexico is appreciably nearer. A resolution was introduced in Congress to that effect on April 6, and there were indications in Washington that the demand for alteration of the Mexican constitution to meet the wishes of Americans would be dropped. Over \$2,000,000,000 of American capital are said to have been invested in Mexican land, which would be immensely enhanced in value by any agreement of Mexico to forego the rights of eminent domain or taxation such as all civilized governments claim. Outside pressure is also having its effect. Major Christopher Lowther in the British House of Commons on March 27 made a strong plea for the recognition of Mexico, saying it was vital not only to a stable government in Mexico but also to the proper protection of British interests there. John Barrett, former Director General of the Pan American Union, in a communication to President Harding on March 21, reported that 141 letters had been received from representative men in Latin America urging early recognition of Mexico.

Mexico is about to begin payment of the interest on her foreign debt, regardless of whether recognition is granted by the United States or not, according to President Obregon, who announced on March 18 that Adolfo de la Huerta, Secretary of the Treasury, would go to New York in May to consider plans for the payment of interest on Mexico's defaulted bonds. "By our efforts to pay our just debts the Mexican Government is demonstrating that it realizes its obligations and is determined to fulfill them," said President Obregon in an interview on March 22. "Our desire and our promise to resume the payment of interest should help toward bringing both recognition and closer relations."

Owners of the bonds in question are located mostly in England, France and Holland, but the securities are listed on the New York Stock Exchange and had a substantial rise on the announcement of the proposed settlement. The International Bankers' Committee, which has assumed charge of the negotiations, consists of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland, Switzerland and Belgium. Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan & Co., is head of the American section. He left on April 8 for Paris to attend a meeting there of the other committees to consider plans for the debt conference. Delegates of the British and French sections had arranged to return with Mr. Lamont to New York for the meeting with Secretary de la Huerta. The total guaranteed debt in default

since 1914 amounts to \$322,000,000, and the unguaranteed railroad debt is \$230,000,000. The amount of interest in default up to January 1 was \$111,000,000, and the sinking fund payments to \$20,000,000. It was expected that only a start could be made toward paying these large sums, possibly through some refunding scheme.

A decree was issued on March 10 relieving owners of mining property from the payment of penalties arising out of failure to pay taxes during recently disturbed conditions. Such penalties are to be remitted if the owners pay before July 1 the taxes assessed for the year 1921 and the first eight months of 1922, and agree to pay the arrears prior to 1921 in instalments. Another decree was proposed to facilitate exploitation by oil companies. This provided that from 25 to 40 per cent. of production shall go to the Mexican Government, a deposit of 50,000 pesos to be made by the companies, work to begin within sixty days after a Federal grant has been given. A Japanese syndicate on March 20 obtained a concession in Lower California for pearl fisheries and also land to plant cotton.

Felix Diaz, a kidnapper and revolutionist of Carranza days, was shot and killed in Sonora on March 17, his death causing a sensation owing to the identity of his name with that of the noted revolutionary leader and nephew of Porfirio Diaz, who was expelled from Mexico and is living in New Orleans. A decree was addressed by President Obregon on April 6 to Attorney General Neri, urging speedy and stern justice to incipient rebels and calling for civil action to confiscate their property.

Nuevo Leon is the fifth Mexican State to impeach its Governor recently. The legislature on April 4 declared the Governor's office vacant, deposing Juan M. Garcia for absenting himself from the State without permission. The other Governors deposed are Sanchez of Puebla, Mugica of Michoacan, Tomas of Tabasco and Vadillo of Jalisco. The latter refused to quit office. General Rafael Pimiento, on March 25, was acquitted of the charge of murdering former Vice President Pino Suarez.

Five persons were killed and eleven seriously wounded in religious riots at Guadalajara on March 27, when radicals carrying red and black flags attacked Catholics. The Papal nuncio, by calling on President Obregon, gave rise to a report that a Mexican cardinal was about to be named. While the National Government is becoming more lenient to Catholics, the State of Yucatan is passing laws looking to further restriction of worship.

WESTERN CANADA'S GAIN IN POWER

By OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY

INTERESTING political developments are bound to result at the first election held in Canada following the Redistribution bill, which will be dealt with during the present session of Parliament (opened at Ottawa on March 8, 1922). The Redistribution bill follows upon the announcement of the Dominion's population made by the Dominion Statistician on Feb. 25, which shows that the Dominion has grown from 7,206,643 persons in 1911, to 8,769,489 at present—an increase of 1,562,846.

That Canada's population is steadily progressing and moving in a westerly direction is evidenced by the totals shown in the accompanying table, which compares the population of each province in 1921 with that of the census of 1911. The rate of growth is not so great as between 1901 and 1911, when the increase was from 5,371,315 to 7,206,643. It is, however, much greater than that which prevailed from 1871, following confederation, to 1901, when an increase of less than 1,600,000 was made in thirty years. From confederation to the present time the growth has been more than 5,000,000.

TEN YEARS' GROWTH OF PROVINCES

Province.	1921.	1911.
Nova Scotia	523,837	492,338
New Brunswick	387,839	351,889
Prince Edward Island.....	88,615	93,728
Quebec	2,349,067	2,003,232
Ontario	2,929,054	2,523,274
Manitoba	613,008	455,614
Saskatchewan	761,390	492,432
Alberta	581,995	374,663
British Columbia	523,353	392,480
Yukon	4,162	8,512
Northwest Territory	6,684	18,481
Canadian Navy	485	.....
Total	8,769,489	7,206,643

The announcement of the census returns makes it possible to forecast with considerable accuracy the representation in the House of Commons, to which the various provinces of Canada will be entitled under the redistribution legislation which will be enacted during the present session. By the British North America Act the representation of Quebec is fixed at sixty-five members, and the ratio of that number to the total population of the province is the unit which determines the representation of the other provinces in the Commons.

Quebec's population has risen from 2,003,232 in 1911 to 2,349,067 at the present time—an increase of 345,835. The unit of population for determining the representation of the other provinces has consequently risen from 30,858 in 1911 to 36,100, and a small fraction at the present time. The representation of a province will be reached, therefore, by dividing this number into its population.

Ontario, with a population estimated at 2,929,054, is therefore entitled to eighty-one representatives in the next Parliament, as compared with eighty-two at the present time and eighty-six in the period from 1908 to 1917. Nova Scotia,

with a population of 523,837, will have fifteen members in the next Parliament, as compared with sixteen at the present time and eighteen in 1908. New Brunswick, whose population is 387,839, will be entitled to eleven members as at present. It had thirteen representatives in 1908.

But it is in the western provinces where the changes in representation will be most marked. Particularly will this be the case in the prairie provinces—Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Manitoba, with a population of 613,008, as compared with 455,614 in 1911, should have seventeen seats at the next election. It now has fifteen representatives in Parliament, as compared with ten in 1908. Alberta, with its 581,995 population, is entitled to sixteen members under the Redistribution Act, as compared with the twelve members it now has and the seven in 1903. Saskatchewan, with its large relative increase from 492,432 in 1911 to its present population of 761,390, is entitled to twenty-one members, as against sixteen in the present House.

British Columbia, the population of which was 392,480 in 1911, has grown to 523,353, and gains a representation of fourteen, as against thirteen members. There is a possibility that a final revision of figures will give this province another member. The Yukon Territory may lose its representation entirely following the redistribution. Its population, according to the recent census, was only 4,162 as compared with 8,512 in 1911 and 27,219 in 1901—figures which in themselves are eloquent of an ebbing tide from the great gold rush days.

According to its population, which now stands at 88,615 as compared with 93,728 in 1911, the province of Prince Edward Island would be entitled to not more than three members. However, an amendment to the Representation Act, passed several sessions ago, provided that the representation of a province in the House of Commons should not fall below its representation in the Senate. Consequently the little province of Prince Edward Island will continue to retain its four members in the representative assembly, notwithstanding its fallen population.

The representation in the next House, following a Redistribution bill to be dealt with at the present session of Parliament, will compare with the present House as follows:

CHANGES IN REPRESENTATION

Province.	Next House.	Present House.
Quebec	65	65
Nova Scotia	15	16
New Brunswick	11	11
Prince Edward Island.....	4	4
Ontario	81	82
Manitoba	17	15
Saskatchewan	21	16
Alberta	16	12
British Columbia	14	13
Yukon	1	1
Total	245	235

It will be seen from these figures that while the representation in the west will be increased, that of the east will be almost unchanged. Any loss in the east will be more relative than absolute because it will have the same, or a somewhat smaller representation, in a larger House. At confederation Quebec had 65 seats out of 181, or more than one-third; at present it has 65 out of 235, and, by the redistribution resulting from the recent census, it will have little more than one-fourth. The west, which at confederation had no representation, has now 57 seats, and this will be increased to 69 or 70.

The preceding figures throw an interesting light on Canada's future development, and especially so in the political arena. The balance of power moves westward in the Dominion, although not as rapidly as some prophets have thought or wished. The western provinces have overtaken Quebec, and during the next decade are likely to overtake Ontario.

With 42 members in the new House of Commons out of a total of 54 in the provinces lying west of the Great Lakes, members of the Progressive Party, led by Hon. T. A. Crerar, comprising the second largest group in the House, are looking forward to even greater political power and prestige.

[NEWS OF THE MONTH IN CANADA—A ruling of interest to women claiming full political rights was made on March 24 by the Department of Justice in a statement that no women Senators can be created in Canada without an amendment of the British North America act. * * * On the subject of Prohibition, Premier King promised on March 28 that while the suggestion for a Dominion-wide act would receive careful consideration by the Cabinet, no such measure would be introduced at the present session of the House of Commons. For his part, the Premier added, he did not favor prohibition in anything, although he favored temperance in everything. * * * From information given to the House of Commons on March 29 it was gathered that the Canadian Government lost \$2,210,724 in operating its merchant marine in 1921. In addition, \$3,357,833 interest was owed the Government, and depreciation was figured at \$4,158,775. When vessels were not in operation the average cost for the smallest type, 2,800 tons, was \$163.12 a day; for the largest, or 10,500-ton type, it was \$572.87. * * * Canadian railway casualty statistics disclosed that out of 51,318,422 passengers carried in 1921 only 4 persons were killed and 240 injured. Of 185,177 employees, 91 were killed and 1,344 injured.

IRELAND'S TREATY BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

AN event full of promise took place at the Colonial Office in London on March 30, when representatives of the Irish Free State, the Ulster Government, and the British Government agreed to a compact of peace between the South and North of Ireland. This settlement was designed to put an end to a feud that had existed more than 300 years, since the first plantation of Ulster with Scotch and English Protestants in 1613. Though this feud had been largely religious, as between Catholic and Protestant, yet at times Irish Nonconformist Protestants were found allied with Catholics in vigorously opposing English injustice, including unfair privileges granted by the State to the Anglican Church in Ireland.

Lloyd George called the conference because of the serious fighting along the Ulster-Free State

border. Those who attended it were: For the Free State, Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, Eamon Duggan, Kevin O'Higgins and Hugh Kennedy; for Ulster, Sir James Craig, Lord Londonderry, E. M. Archdale and Colonel Spender; for the British Government, Winston Churchill, Sir Lamington Worthington Evans, Sir Hamar Greenwood and Lord Peel. The terms of the momentous agreement which these representatives signed on March 30 are as follows:

"1. Peace is today declared.

"2 From today the two Governments undertake to co-operate in every way in their power with the view to the restoration of peaceful conditions in the unsettled areas.

"3. The police in Belfast are to be organized in general accordance with the following conditions:

(a) Special police in mixed districts are to be

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

Of course it takes time to train a colt to be gentle

[English Cartoon]



—John Bull, London

"Our feud is dead," the Irish said,
"And this shall be our sign";

Then straightaway began the fray
On where to draw the line!

composed half of Catholics and half of Protestants, special arrangements to be made where Catholics or Protestants are living in other districts. All specials not required for this force are to be withdrawn to their homes and their arms handed in.

"(b) An advisory committee composed of Catholics is to be set up to assist in the selection of Catholic recruits for the special police.

"(c) All police on duty, except the usual secret service, are to be in uniform and officially numbered.

"(d) All arms and ammunition issued to the police are to be deposited in barracks in charge of a military or other competent officer when the policeman is not on duty, and an official record is to be kept of all arms issued and of all ammunition issued and used.

"(e) Any search for arms is to be carried out by police forces composed half of Catholics and half of Protestants, the military rendering any necessary assistance.

"4. A court is to be constituted for the trial, without jury, of persons charged with serious crimes, the court to consist of the Lord Chief Justice and one of the Lords Justice of Appeal of Northern Ireland. Any person committed for trial for a serious crime is to be tried by that court (a) if he so requests or (b) if the Attorney General for Northern Ireland so directs. Serious crime should be taken to mean any offense punishable with death, penal servitude or imprisonment for a term exceeding six months. The Government of Northern Ireland will take steps for passing legislation necessary to give effect to this article.

"5. A committee is to be set up in Belfast of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants with

an independent chairman, preferably a Catholic and a Protestant, alternating in successive weeks, to hear and investigate complaints as to intimidation, outrages, etc., such committee to have direct access to the heads of the Government. The local press is to be approached with a view to inserting only such reports of disturbances, etc., as shall have been considered and communicated by this committee.

"6. Irish Republican Army activity is to cease in the six counties and thereupon a method of organizing a special police in the six counties outside Belfast shall proceed as speedily as possible upon lines similar to those agreed to for Belfast.

"7. During the month immediately following the passing into law of the bill confirming the Constitution of the Free State [being the month within which the Northern Parliament is to exercise its option] and before any address in accordance with Article 12 of the treaty is presented there shall be a further meeting between the signatories to this agreement with a view to ascertaining:

"(a) Whether means can be devised to secure the unity of Ireland.

"(b) Failing this, whether an agreement can be arrived at on the boundary question otherwise than by recourse to the Boundary Commission outlined in Article 12 of the treaty.

"8. The return to their homes of persons who have been expelled is to be secured by the respective Governments, the advice of the committee mentioned in Article 5 to be sought in difficulties.

"9. In view of the special conditions consequent on the political situation in Belfast and neighborhood the British Government will submit to Parliament a vote, not exceeding £500,000, for the

Ministry of Labor of Northern Ireland to be expended exclusively on relief work, one-third for the benefit of Catholics and two-thirds for the benefit of Protestants. The northern signatories agree to use every effort to secure the restoration of the expelled workers, and wherever this proves impracticable at the moment owing to trade depression they will be afforded employment on the relief works referred to in this article so far as the one-third limit will allow, Protestant ex-service men to be given the preference in respect to two-thirds of said funds.

"10. The two Governments shall, in cases agreed upon between the signatories, arrange for release of political prisoners in prison for offenses before the date hereof. No offenses committed after March 31, 1922, shall be open to consideration.

"11. The two Governments unite in appealing to all concerned to refrain from inflammatory speeches and to exercise restraint in the interests of peace."

King George on March 31 signed the treaty by which the Irish Free State came into legal existence, and by which its Provisional Government under Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins was endowed with full powers to administer the country until the general election. At the same time England relinquished all right to intervene in Ireland's internal affairs.

Otherwise the situation in Ireland can hardly be said to have improved, though the Provisional Government maintained itself in office by tempering the exercise of power with good judgment. Indeed, judging only from the news of frequent rioting and bloodshed, one might infer that the country had dropped back into the worst days of Black and Tan terrorism. Mr. de Valera and his followers continued to play a prominent part in the disturbances. Thus, on March 15, the former "President of the Irish Republic" launched a new political organization named the Cumann na Poblachta, or Republican Society, "to repudiate the proposed agreement with Great Britain as

humiliating to the nation and destructive of its rightful status and claims."

The seriously disturbed state of the country was indicated by such events as the meeting of a convention of Irish Army rebels at Dublin on March 26, seating some 200 delegates, which declared for the republic and a renewal of the boycott on Belfast; a mutiny of the Irish Republican Army brigade staff at Athlone on the 27th; the wrecking of the Freeman's Journal in Dublin on the 30th by Irish rebels for its support of the Free State treaty; a parade of 3,000 Irish Army rebels in Dublin on April 2 in defiance of headquarters' orders; stoppage, amid stormy scenes, of a meeting addressed by Michael Collins at Castlebar, County Mayo, on April 3, and an ambush of Free State troops at Bradbray near Dublin on April 5. Fears that the anniversary of the Easter rebellion would issue in a bloody conflict of Irish against Irish were quieted on April 11 by the arrangement of a peace conference between Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera, to be attended by Griffith and Brugha respectively. The sponsors for this happy plan were the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin and the Lord Mayor of Dublin. It was also arranged that the latter, together with Stephen O'Mara, senior, of Limerick, would attend the conference.

Previous indications that these troubles were fomented by extreme radical or Communist elements found definite expression in a pronouncement by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who declared "they were convinced that factions whose aim probably is pure anarchy are using the traditional opposition for their own purposes." They, therefore, urged all Christians, Protestant and Catholic, to unite for the safety of their country.

In Ulster guerrilla fighting became general along the border, and Belfast continued to be the centre of numerous factional outbursts, the latter being attended by considerable loss of life. In the Sperrin Mountains of County Tyrone, Crown forces engaged rebel bands during several nights, a total of 25 rebels being killed by April 4.

BELGIUM'S TREATY WITH LUXEMBURG

THE economic union between Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg goes into full effect on May 1, 1922, when the customs frontier between the two countries is abolished. A general outline of this Economic Convention was given in the April number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, page 170). Ratifications were exchanged March 6, and the full treaty has now been officially published by the Belgian Government ("Moniteur Belge," March 11). The principal points of the convention are these:

Each nation preserves its absolute sovereignty and political independence. The customs-frontier between Belgium and the Grand Duchy is abolished. Luxemburg adopts the Belgian tariff schedule on its other frontiers. Receipts from customs are to be pooled and divided in proportion to population. Henceforth, so far as other powers are concerned, Belgium and the Grand

Duchy constitute one single entity in economic matters, and future commercial treaties will be concluded by Belgium in the name of the Customs Union. The Grand Duchy has very few consular agents in foreign countries and, since 1880, the protection of its commercial interests has been cared for, chiefly, by the consular agents of Holland; this duty will now be confided to the Belgian Consuls.

The Grand Ducal currency will be retired and the Belgian monetary system will be extended over Luxemburg. The treaty also provides for the operation of the Grand Duchy's railways, which constitute Belgium's principal outlet toward Alsace-Lorraine, Switzerland, Southern Germany, Italy, and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Three mixed commissions and a Court of Arbitration have been provided to carry out the agreement on an equitable basis.

ENGLAND AND THE DOMINIONS

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE outstanding political event of the month in England was the overwhelming victory of Premier Lloyd George in the House of Commons on April 3 by a vote of 372 to 94. This was on a vote of confidence in the Coalition Government, with special relation to Mr. Lloyd George's plans for the Genoa conference. The motion read: "That this House approve the reso-

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

"ON WHOM THE SUN NEVER SETS"

lutions passed by the Supreme Council at Cannes as the basis of the Genoa conference and will support his Majesty's Government in endeavoring to give effect to them." Mr. Lloyd George had returned from a three weeks' vacation in Wales much invigorated and in a long speech favored cautious recognition of the Soviet, criticised the Labor Party, jested at the expense of the Cabinet die-hards, and urged exchange stability on the basis of money devaluation and balance of budgets.

The labor situation again developed a crisis when 300,000 members of the Engineering Union were locked out on March 11. With the failure of negotiations between employers and employed, 300,000 more shipyard workers were presently involved. Thereupon the Engineering Employers' Federation posted notices on March 29 warning of a lockout of the members of forty-seven additional unions, making a grand total of 850,000 men affected. On April 3, as neither side appeared able to meet on conciliatory terms, and as paralysis of British trade was threatened, Mr. Lloyd George intervened. His influence was believed to have been responsible for the suspension on April 5 of the additional lockout notices and for the arranging of direct negotiations between the men's leaders and the employers' federations, commencing April 10.

From a royal commission report of March 24 it was gathered that Oxford and Cambridge universities were no longer able to pay their way, owing to the change in the value of money. In recommending substantial increase of grants, the commission said: "Unless help comes from outside, the universities will be forced to raise their fees to an excessive degree, thus excluding many students, not only of the artisan, but of the professional class."

The conferring of an earldom on Sir Arthur J. Balfour was announced officially on April 12. He had recently been made a Knight of the Garter. Having already given up the peculiar distinction of being a statesman without a title, he is now willing to enter the House of Lords to strengthen the Government's position there. Mr. Balfour will henceforth be known as Earl Balfour of Whittingham.

AUSTRALIA

Immigration problems remain the chief concern of Australia. To offset the growing pressure of Chinese and Japanese labor, Premier Hughes has sanctioned an agreement between the Italian and British Governments for an extensive immigration of Italian farmers to Australia to take up unsettled lands. Sir James Mitchell, Premier of Western Australia, at a banquet in London on March 21, pleaded for a steady stream of immigration that would fill up the 624,000,000 acres of his country, now peopled by only 330,000 persons. The State of Victoria in March sent John McWhae to London as Agent General to promote immigration, and Premier H. N. Barwell of South Australia is in England trying to recruit 6,000 boys for apprenticeship to South Australian farmers.

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

THE OLD BOY SURELY HAS HIS WORRIES

Royal assent was given in March to the bill for the abolition of the Queensland Upper House, which the Prime Minister called "the home of reactionary interests."

In New South Wales a bill has been introduced to break up large estates, of which there were seventy-two in 1919 exceeding 50,000 acres each. It limits holdings to a valuation of £20,000 and empowers the State to acquire the excess by eminent domain.

The Australian House of Representatives in March passed a bill to protect the native of the mandated territory of New Guinea. No forced labor will be permitted. A new schedule of import duties and of export duties on unexpropriated produce was adopted. Most of the plantations are still in the hands of the alien property custodian.

NEW ZEALAND

A total lack of shipments of frozen meat during 1921 was responsible for 95 per cent. of the decrease in exports from Wellington, New Zealand, to the United States, from \$13,307,846 in 1920 to \$3,903,541, in 1921. This is due to the dispute between the Government and American packers, the latter being restricted in operation. On March 31, however, the Government decided to allow the Armour beef packers to begin business, the Control Board believing it was sufficiently empowered to safeguard the producers' interests.

Chief Toelupe, leader of the house of native Samoan rulers, at a meeting in Apia, announced that the Samoans accept as final the British decision that the mandate over Samoa cannot be removed from the control of New Zealand without a decision of the League of Nations.

A citizens' association of white residents on April 1 adopted a resolution to request a plebiscite of taxpayers to determine whether prohibition, now enforced in Samoa, should be lifted.

INDIA

In addition to the threatening political outlook, the Indian Budget statement laid before the Legislative Assembly at Delhi on March 2 was characterized as the most dismal in India's modern history; it disclosed a deficit of 34 crores of rupees, or about £22,000,000. One of its most unfortunate features was the conversion of the valuable asset of State-owned railways into a debtor proposition for the first time in several decades. The budget, as finally passed on March 22, reduced the deficit for the current year by £2,833,333, and for the coming year by about £2,000,000 through permitting the utilization of the interest on paper currency securities as revenue during the two years.

The Prince of Wales ended his Indian tour on March 17, when he embarked at Karachi for the Far East. Opinions on the value of his presence in India continued to differ. One contention was that in "making England see and think" he had performed a valuable public service; the other was that besides the bad policy of the trip, his very democratic affability was of a modern type of monarch "that can have no future in India."

At Ahmedabad on March 18, Mohandas K.



(Keystone View Co.)

KING FUAD

Sultan Fuad Pasha now King of Egypt and head of an independent State

Gandhi, the non-co-operationist leader, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for sedition. Mr. Gandhi thanked the Court for its courtesy, and said he considered the sentence as light as any judge could possibly have inflicted. In previously making a long speech he explained how, from being a staunch loyalist, he had become an uncompromising disaffectionist. News of the sentence spread quickly among intensely interested crowds, but there was no disorder.

A notable speech was made on March 28 by the Maharaja of Alwar in the presence of the Viceroy, Lord Reading. He said the Princes of India sometimes received gratuitous advice from quarters not directly concerned in their affairs. We try, however," he said, "to look beyond this and to march forward determinedly. United India will again achieve in the future the great position she held in ages past." Alluding to the Chamber of Princes, he said the Government constituted the United States of India, in which every State was working out its own destiny. The Maharaja eulogized the work of Edwin S. Montagu, former Secretary of State for India, and said the Indian States owed much to him for their reforms.

The unrest in India was reported as unabated. A drive against the Akali Dal throughout the Punjab opened on March 21, when police and troops raided numerous districts with orders to confiscate arms. The Sikhs made little resistance, though several hundred village leaders were taken into custody. An odd compromise was effected whereby the kirpan, or long blade, was not

to be considered an offensive weapon if worn slung from the waist and sheathed, the reverse being the case if slung from the shoulder, or carried drawn. Many officials criticised this kirpan pact as approaching absurdity, since it leaves the Sikh in possession of a favorite weapon.

The founding of a new university at Shantiniketan, Bengal, by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet, was announced April 16. The name of the institution is Visva-bharati Parishat. Two of its objects are to bring together the various scattered cultures of the East and to provide for the exchange of knowledge between the East and the West.

EGYPT

Egyptian students made a demonstration against the new régime in front of the palace of King Fuad in Cairo on March 18, two days after the proclamation of sovereignty, and again on March 20, maltreating a number of persons who were returning from the King's reception. The Egyptian troops did not interfere and were withdrawn, mounted police restoring order. King Fuad the same day visited Adly Yeghen Pasha, who headed the Egyptian delegation to London, and thanked him for the part he had played in obtaining Egypt's independence. King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, on March 25, conferred the Order of the Annunziata on King Fuad and Premier Facta sent a telegram hoping for "prosperity, close friendship and close economic relations." Marquis Curzon, British Foreign Secretary, on March 27 sent dispatches to all British ambassadors, saying that the termination of the

protectorate involved no change in Egypt's status toward other powers and the British Government would regard as unfriendly any attempted interference in the affairs of Egypt by another power, and would repel any aggression upon Egyptian territory.

SOUTH AFRICA

The South African mine strike, after lasting sixty-seven days, and after the failure of the serious armed revolt (see *CURRENT HISTORY* for April, page 161), was officially declared off by all the unions concerned on March 18. The Mine Workers' Union, representing 21,000 men, dissociated itself completely from the revolutionary movement and passed a resolution repudiating and condemning it. Premier Smuts, reviewing the outbreak before the House of Assembly, said the aim of the revolutionists was undoubtedly the setting up of a Soviet republic in South Africa. Six thousand prisoners were taken and those among them responsible for outrages were to be dealt with by the ordinary courts instead of by courts-martial. The Government forces lost fifty killed and 237 wounded, while the rebels lost 133 killed and 287 wounded. The cost to the Union of South Africa is estimated to be fully \$25,000,000. African natives did not take part in the rebellion. On April 5 there were 12,400 natives employed in the mines and 12,629 whites. Six thousand Europeans formerly employed in the Rand district were reported out of work.

The House of Assembly on March 23 rejected, by a vote of 55 to 51, a bill which would grant the franchise to women.

FINLAND'S RELATIONS WITH BALTIC NEIGHBORS

FINLAND'S delegation to the Genoa conference consists of Premier J. H. Vennola and C. Enckell, Minister to Paris; also Vaino Tanner, Socialist leader of the Finnish Riksdag, a lawyer and financier. Assisting these are the financial experts, K. G. Idman, Minister to Copenhagen, and O. J. Wasastjerna, a banker.

Foreign Minister Holsti represented Finland at the conference of the Baltic States (minus Lithuania), and Poland at Warsaw, beginning the middle of March, to prepare a common policy with regard to Russia, to be adhered to at Genoa. This meeting was also to form a commercial agreement among themselves. It was a sequel of the Helsingfors meeting of last July, and ended with the signing of a political, commercial and economic agreement. On his return to Helsingfors, March 23, M. Holsti said that the Warsaw meeting was the most important of the so-called Baltic conferences so far held, the first result, in fact, of preparatory work done by earlier conferences held at Helsingfors and Riga. Its purpose was co-ordination of the foreign policies of the participant countries, so far as their common interests required. They agreed upon mutual recognition of peace treaties concluded severally with Russia, avoidance of disputes with one an-

other, and endeavor to improve their economic intercourse and to strengthen their mutual relations. Friendly understanding among themselves, said M. Holsti, will render possible political and economic collaboration with the outer world. They agreed upon benevolent neutrality in case one of the participant countries was attacked by another.

The Finnish proposal to resume the work of the Mixed Committee appointed by the Dorpat treaty with a view to securing the boundary settlement as soon as possible was approved by the Executive Soviet, March 15. Further the Soviet communicated that it was not opposed to the setting up of a Finnish Consulate General in Petrograd. On March 24, after an interruption of three months, the Mixed Commission met in Helsingfors and continued the boundary negotiations.

The Finno-German agreements of 1918 having become invalid, negotiations were recently opened between the Foreign Ministers of Finland and Germany for an agreement as to communication between the two countries and return of Finnish ships' cargoes confiscated by Germany during the war. Finnish delegates left for Berlin March 25 to conclude the negotiations.

THE MONTH IN GERMANY

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE German mark reached its minimum at New York on March 24, when 313 marks sold for 1 cent. During the opening of the Genoa Conference the rate rose to about 3 for a cent. Wages paid in Berlin March 1, 1922, were as follows, in marks per week: Bricklayers and erectors, 760; painters, 650; tailors, 660; cutters, 826; seamstresses, 418; bakers, 660; coopers and saddlers, 800; teamsters, 600; miners, 700 to 750. To reduce this to dollars, divide by 300, and you have the weekly wages of these trades in terms of the present exchange rate.

The German Reichsbank increased its note circulation during the last week in March by nearly 8,000,000,000 marks. The total circulation on April 7 was nearly 132,000,000,000 marks, as against 45,000,000,000 on the corresponding date of 1920. The German foreign trade for February showed an export surplus of 2,500,000,000 marks, the total imports and exports reaching 26,000,000,000 marks.

All American troops are to be withdrawn from the Rhine as soon as possible. They are to be replaced by two French divisions, which will make a total of eight French divisions in the occupied area. The French troops will be under the command of General Degoutte.

Notes have been received by the American Government from France, Belgium, Italy and Great Britain, stating that they recognize our claim for reimbursement for the expense of the American troops on the Rhine, the amount due up to May 1, 1921, being \$241,000,000.

Dr. Otto Wiedfeldt, the first director of Krupp's, has been appointed German Ambassador to the United States. He is a man of large business experience, and of high intellectual attainments.

General Erich von Falkenhayn, formerly Minister of War and one-time Chief of Staff of the German Army, died April 7 near Potsdam.

Of the twenty-nine young Germans arrested in December in Düsseldorf, charged with having conspired to arm the reactionaries and promote civil war to re-establish the German monarchy, nineteen were found guilty by a French court-martial and sentenced to jail terms of from one to three years.

Seven air travel companies are operating in Germany; in 1921 they carried 6,820 persons. The Russian Government has granted a monopoly to a German company for operating an air service that is to connect the most important Russian cities. A line has been opened between



(Times-Wide World Photo)

DR. OTTO WIEDFELDT

German Ambassador to the United States

Petrograd and Moscow, to be followed by one between Moscow and Kiev. Works for manufacturing airplanes are being built in Moscow and Petrograd by a Russo-German. The fares are approximately those for first-class railway travel.

There are today 700,000 laborers in Germany in the Farm Workers' Union, against 8,000 in 1918. Of the 12,530,238 persons in Germany belonging to labor organizations on Jan. 1, 1921, 7,601,035 were members of the so-called Free Trade Union, based on socialist principles, and 750,456 were enrolled in the General Free Office Employes' League. There were 1,700,000 workers in the Christian National Unions. The Communist Unions have a membership of 246,000.

According to statistics compiled by General von Altmann, German losses in the war were 1,805,555 killed, 4,246,779 wounded. The losses during the war of 1870-71 were 41,413 killed and 85,543 wounded. The number of regular army officers killed in the world war was 53,335 and 96,213 officers were wounded. General von Altmann states that approximately 13,000,000 men were with the colors, so that one man out of seven was killed; but when indirect losses and reduced birth rate are considered, Germany lost, all told, 12,000,000 by the war.

Of the total male population, Prussia lost 5.64 per cent, Bavaria 5.62 per cent., Saxony 5.43 per cent. total loss of the male population of the empire cent. and Württemberg 6.28 per cent., making the average 5.64 per cent.

HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE ex-King and Emperor, Charles, died of pneumonia in his exile at Funchal, Madeira, on April 1. He had been ill for a little over a week. The physicians in attendance refused to attempt to save his life by a transfusion of blood, offered by Queen Zita. News of the death of the late Emperor had a profound effect in Budapest, where a campaign to raise funds for the relief of the royal family, reduced to great poverty in their exile, resulted in subscriptions totaling several million crowns. The whole city went into mourning.

A proclamation, signed by eighteen prominent Legitimist leaders, headed by Counts Apponyi and Andrássy, announced the succession to the Hungarian crown of Prince Otto, eldest son of Charles, who is now 10 years old, and the regency of Queen Zita pending Otto's coming of age. Cardinal Czernoch, the Prince Primate, endorsed the proclamation, but the Government of Regent Horthy refused to take cognizance of it beyond taking measures for the suppression of a possible Legitimist coup.

A new outbreak of political terrorism occurred on April 3, when a bomb was hurled into a hall where a banquet of the Democratic Club was being held, with 300 people present. The Democratic Club is the local organization of the Vassoniyi Party and consists of middle class business and professional men, mostly Jewish. It is royalist with liberal coloring. Four persons were killed, and over thirty injured. The bomb was apparently intended for Deputy Rassay, one of the anti-White Terrorist leaders in Parliament, who for some time had been the butt of persecution by the Society of Awakening Hungarians and the military terrorists supporting Regent Horthy. Rassay was to speak at the dinner, but arrived late, thus escaping injury.

Great indignation was aroused over the electoral edict of the Bethlen Government, abolishing universal suffrage, thus reducing the electorate by

one-fourth, and substituting open polling for secret ballot. It was pointed out by the Progressives that in this manner the terrorist bands will be able to prevent adherents of the Opposition from casting their votes. A Budapest correspondent of the Neues Wiener Tagblatt asserts that a free and unhampered election would sweep the Horthy regime away.

Mr. Zoltan Szasz, regarded as the foremost Hungarian political writer, has been sentenced to imprisonment for two years and six months because of his strictures upon governmental policy contained in articles contributed by him to Vienna newspapers.

AUSTRIA

There was great excitement and indignation in Austria over the Hungarian demand, addressed to the Interallied Boundary Commission in charge of fixing the Burgenland frontier, for the restoration of more than a fourth of the disputed territory. * * * Hungarian bandits, believed to be Government troops in disguise, invaded Austrian territory in the Burgenland, murdering and pillaging on their way. The troops guarding the frontier were reinforced by 2,000 men, and a note of protest was dispatched to Budapest.

The National Assembly passed a bill providing for sweeping measures of taxation and administrative economy. The reforms were stipulated by France and Great Britain as a condition of credits to be extended to the Austrian Government.

The United States House of Representatives adopted a resolution, which had already passed the Senate, authorizing a twenty-five year extension for payment by Austria of \$25,000,000 for flour purchased in America.

A Royalist demonstration, following upon the requiem mass said for the ex-Emperor Charles, was dispersed by the Vienna police in front of the Parliament Building.

HOLLAND'S NAVAL CONTROVERSY

THE question of defense for the Dutch East Indies, in connection with the result of the Washington Armament Conference, caused a great controversy throughout Holland. The Government had proposed a naval program providing for important additions to the East Indian defense fleet through a period of six years. Many Hollanders, especially the Socialists and Communists, contended for revision of the naval program and curtailment of the naval budget, declaring that the Four-Power Treaty precluded the chance of war in the Pacific and rendered the defense of the neutrality of their colonies superfluous. The naval men, however, and

especially Foreign Minister Van Karnebeek, defended vigorously the enlargement program. Minister Van Karnebeek, addressing Parliament on the naval bill, April 6, declared that, valuable as the Washington conference was, he could not see how it affected the Dutch program, as the bill conformed to the Washington fleet treaty. He added that other countries were disinclined to naval disarmament, and that if the Four-Power Treaty did not provide a guarantee, it was questionable whether Holland could confine herself to the treaty minimum, as territory of such importance as the Dutch East Indies would undoubtedly suffer from the creation of doubt as to its power of self-defense.

FRANCE'S COLONIAL EMPIRE

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

GREAT political and commercial importance was attached in France to President Millerand's tour of the African Colonies, beginning April 6 and scheduled to last about a month. Starting from Marakech, Morocco, with a large party, the plan was to make most of the journey by automobiles, visiting Rabat, Fez and Oudja, in Morocco, and then proceeding to Algeria and Tunis. The double purpose of the tour was to pay France's tribute to the Moroccan and Algerian soldiers who fought in the French ranks in the World War and to encourage the development of the projects France is starting all over her African colonies. These include construction, improved ports, new railroad lines and a great road system which will aid the development of agriculture and mining. French colonial work is characterized by the policy of making every native consider himself a Frenchman, whatever be his complexion or religion, and giving him representation in the French Chamber of Deputies. The attitude of the French people toward these colonials is expressed in General Mangin's phrase: "France is a country of 100,000,000 people."

This policy does not assure unbroken harmony, as instanced in the surprise attack by Moroccan tribesmen in the Moulouya Valley, March 30, on two French columns, killing or wounding 700 men. This valley is on the border of French and Spanish Morocco, close to the Moorish-Spanish battlefields south of Melilla.

On April 14, the French President was received with distinguished courtesy by General Berenguer, the Spanish High Commissioner in Spanish Morocco, at his Fez Residency. Making his address of welcome in his campaign uniform, General Berenguer expressed admiration for the

"extremely able military work of preserving pacific penetration" of Morocco by the French, the results of which he declared President Millerand was able to observe as an example of "marked French colonial genius." In reply, President Millerand replied appropriately.

Considerable anxiety was being created on April 14 by the combined Nationalist and Communist agitation in Tunis on the eve of President Millerand's visit there, though officially it was said that the persons engaged in it did not exceed 500 or 600 in number.

On March 17, M. Philippe Berthelot, late Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was suspended from his duties for a period of ten years, as a result of his intervention in the affairs of the Banque Industrielle de Chine. He has the rank of an Ambassador, and the suspension decree means that he will receive no remuneration for a decade. He was found guilty of committing imprudence of an administrative order and of not distinguishing adequately between his duties at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and his personal interest in the bank. He was saved from dismissal only because it was not found that he had favored the interests of the bank against the State. The usual suspension from duty is five years, and the French Ministry seemed to take a serious view of his offense. Premier Poincaré was responsible for the severity of his punishment.

The month was a stormy period in the Chamber of Deputies over the question of limitation of land and naval armaments and the Genoa guarantees. It was finally decided to support the Lloyd George program at the conference.

[Full details of the opening of the Genoa conference will be found elsewhere in these pages.]

ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

SIGNOR FACTA, the new Italian Premier, appeared before the Italian Senate on March 15 to explain the principles which this Government would follow with respect to both domestic and foreign relations. Internally, the first necessity was the maintenance of public order, he declared. It was impossible to allow a part of the citizens to disturb the rights of the rest. With this obvious reference to the Fascisti and the Communists, he passed on to foreign affairs, recapitulating the ties of friendship linking Italy with the rest of Europe, including the Central Powers and Russia. He referred also to the Italian policy in Asia Minor, and to the Fiume situation, declaring that the Italian Government would respect its international engagements toward Jugoslavia, while acting in full accord with Italian patriotic feeling.

Signor Schanzer, the Foreign Minister, speaking before the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament on March 19, reiterated the Government's assurances that the Fiume question was being discussed with Belgrade on a friendly and amicable basis. The unpleasantness with Greece over a Greek attempt to seize an Italian ship on the charge that it was bearing arms to the forces of the Turkish Nationalist leader, Mustapha Kemal, said the Foreign Minister, was on its way to a pacific settlement, the Greek Government having offered its excuses. In the Chamber, Signor Schanzer declared that the Italian policy toward Albania as an independent nation would remain unchanged, except that Italy would ask to be allowed to withdraw the Italian detachment at Scutari. He spoke also at considerable length on the coming conference at Genoa, outlining Italy's

policy toward European peace and economic restoration which Italy would pursue. The Chamber, by a vote of 275 to 89, passed a vote of confidence in the new Government.

The Fiume situation was reported on March 26 to be serious, threatening international complications. President Zanella and forty-nine other members of the Fiume Constituent Assembly who had taken refuge in Yugoslavia when the Fascisti seized the city, were holding official sittings on Yugoslav territory, and had appealed to the Yugoslav Premier to intervene and restore normal conditions in Fiume. These exiled Deputies, representing fully two-thirds of the Constituent Assembly, had decided not to return to Fiume until all the Fascisti legionaries who had established a military dictatorship had been expelled. Zanella had also refused to treat with the Italian diplomatic officials at Fiume until all the demands of the Constituent Assembly had been fulfilled. He was planning to send protests to all the powers of Europe against the Fascisti coup. Lieutenant Viola, a commander of the Fiume Arditi, and four companions, were arrested by

Jugoslav soldiers after they had crossed the Jugoslav frontier, and broken up a meeting of Zanella adherents at Potore, eight miles from Fiume.

Meanwhile a force of Italian carabinieri under Colonel Marra was in provisional control under Colonel Marra was in provisional control at Fiume. On March 25 Marra forbade anyone in Fiume from appearing in uniform unless he was a member of the Italian Army. Alpini to the number of 2,000 had been moved by the orders of the Rome Government to the Fiume frontier. These were the troops who compelled Gabriele d'Annunzio to surrender Fiume, and they are both respected and feared by the Fascisti.

Italy's population on Dec. 1, 1921, was 38,835,184, including 1,564,691 persons in the redeemed provinces, according to figures given out by the Government Statistics Bureau on April 14. The increase over the census of 1911, excluding the "redeemed" population, amounted to 7.5 per cent. The bureau declared the new figures show the greatest increase in population of any country in the world.

SCANDINAVIA AND THE GENOA CONFERENCE

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

SWEDEN

ON the initiative of the Swedish Government, a conference of representatives of countries that were neutral during the World War was convened at Stockholm, March 18, to discuss a common policy for neutral countries at the Genoa Conference. Present were Premier Hjalmar Branting of Sweden, Premier Otto Blehr of Norway, Foreign Minister Harald Scavenius of Denmark, and the Ministers accredited from Holland, Switzerland, and Spain. They agreed upon their attitude in regard to the principal points of the Genoa Conference program, especially economic questions of common interest to them. On the same day, it was announced that King Gustaf had chosen as Sweden's delegates to the Genoa Conference Premier and Foreign Minister Hjalmar Branting and (for Counselors of State) Senator E. Trygger and Sweden's leading financier, Marcus Wallenberg; also, as economic and financial experts, Professor Karl Gustaf Cassell (for questions of Russian compensation), District Justice G. Sandström and President A. Thorberg of the Swedish General Labor Federation (for labor questions in connection with the problem of European reconstruction). Professor Cassell of Stockholm University, as an international finance expert, has acted as financial adviser to the League of Nations, and his writings on European financial subjects have been widely quoted in America.

The Swedish-Soviet commercial agreement, which was signed by Russian and Swedish representatives on Feb. 25 and submitted on March 4 to the Riksdag for approval, aroused great

opposition. It was said in the Riksdag, March 17, that the greatest mistake in it was the deferring of Russian compensation; that the Bolsheviks should not be allowed to send a trade delegation to Sweden numerically greater than Sweden sent to Russia; that the stipulation of full reciprocity of access to each country was a great danger to Sweden's safety, as it meant an invasion of Russians who would capture a large part of the country's trade. So, on March 31, it was given out that the Swedish Parliamentary Commission, to which the agreement had been referred, had advised unfavorably on the conclusion of a Swedish-Soviet treaty of commerce.

The Riksdag decided on April 8 to repeal the sliding tariff on imported grain and to re-establish the old system of fixed tariffs, the import duty thenceforth to be 3.70 kronor per hundred kilos.

A bill favoring a consultative referendum on the question of absolute prohibition for next Autumn was passed by the Second Chamber of the Riksdag, April 5. Two days later a private wireless message was received in the United States stating that the Swedish Parliament had passed it. A clause in the measure provides that men and women shall vote separately.

DENMARK

The general lockout in Denmark, the greatest labor struggle in that country's history, came to an end April 7, the 150,000 men affected by it agreeing to resume work April 10. The trouble had lasted from early in January, when the employers attempted to cut wages 20 per cent. and to lengthen the working day.

On the morning of April 5, after negotiations lasting sixteen hours, the Executive Committees of the Danish Federation of Labor and the Employers' Association reached a compromise agreement for ending the lockout. Although this compromise entailed acceptance by the men of the conditions offered by the employers at the beginning of the lockout on Feb. 15, it was ratified by general meetings of the two organizations on April 7. The Employers' Association cast 394 votes for the agreement, 41 against it, while 24 abstained from voting. The federation cast 385 votes for it, 122 against it, and 59 did not vote.

Denmark's delegates to the Genoa conference, appointed by the King on March 22, were Lord Chamberlain H. A. Bernhof, Danish Minister to Paris; Bank Director Emil Glückstad, a member of the League of Nations Economic and Financial Commission, and the following experts: For the Ministry of Finance, the Public Debt Director, Department Chief P. O. A. Andersen; for the Ministry of Commerce, Department Chief Gunni Busck-Nielsen, and for the Ministry of Agriculture, Lord Chamberlain Baron Hans Rosenkrantz of the International Agricultural Institute in Rome.

When Queen Alexandrine's mother, the widowed Grand Duchess Anastasia of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, died at Cannes, March 11, she was attended by her Danish Majesty and Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark. Attending the funeral were also the Crown Prince's fiancée, Princess Olga of Greece, and her mother. Queen Alexandrine left the royal party at Saint Raphael, where the Prefect of the Maritime Alps and many other personages paid their parting respects to her, March 21, as she started for home by way of Paris. Her son, Crown Prince Frederick, accompanied Princess Olga and her mother for a visit in Athens via Corfu, where Prince Nicholas of Greece met them.

The reinterment ceremonies in Copenhagen in honor of the American soldier of Danish parent-

age, whose body was recently exhumed in France, were attended, April 9, by officials of the American Legation and Consulate and the Danish War Department, British military officers and a multitude of the people of the Danish capital. American doughboys of Danish parentage, in khaki uniforms and wearing their war medals, carried the coffin, which was draped with an American flag.

It transpired March 16 that Henry Ford had obtained areas in Copenhagen for the establishment of a great automobile plant to supply the demand of all Northern Europe. He had changed his plan to build it in Germany after strong protests from the German automobile industry.

NORWAY

The Norwegian Council of State appointed the following as delegates to the Genoa Economic Conference: Counselor of State Johan Ludvig Mowinkel, Chairman, and Norway's Minister to Rome, M. Johannes Irgens; also, as experts, Bank Director P. Volckmar, Bureau Chief in the Foreign Department Helge Klaestad, Captain Fredrik Prytz, and President Ole O. Lian of the Norwegian Federation of Labor.

The Odelsting (lower house), on March 18, passed a bill establishing compulsory arbitration in labor disputes. The Communists, who had opposed the measure, supported the bill in order to avoid a Ministerial crisis and the formation of a Conservative Cabinet.

A decline in note circulation from 378,000,000 to 375,000,000 kroner, whereas the gold reserve remained static at 147,300,000 kroner, was shown by the February report of the Bank of Norway, which was made public in the United States April 10. The index figure for prices showed a fall of 7 points, from 260 to 253, the greatest fall in prices being for petroleum, gasoline and metals.

JAPAN FULFILLING THE WASHINGTON PACT

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

JAPAN had begun the fulfillment of the agreements reached at the Washington Conference by the end of February. Suspension of work on naval construction was announced by the management of the Nagasaki Works. This affected the new battleship Tosa, but recently launched, and the battle cruiser Takao. This suspension, effected by the orders of the Tokio Government, had created a serious situation in respect to the large labor force. It was not intended, however, to dismiss any employees immediately. The Japanese evacuation of Shantung, announced by Major General Yui, commander of the Tsingtao garrison, on March 26, had begun by April 9, when 500 troops embarked on a transport bound for Japan. The Brandegee reservation to the four-power treaty concluded at Washington was generally accepted by the Japanese press at the end of March as merely a political gesture, not affecting the value of the ratification.

The manhood suffrage movement in Japan continues to be one of the most difficult problems which the Government has to solve. The Kenseikai, or Opposition party, presented a resolution to the House of Representatives denouncing the use of the police in suppressing the mass demonstrations attending the opening of the suffrage debate on Feb. 23. The continuance of the debate drew forth many declarations that the demand for liberal suffrage was universal. A mass meeting of journalists had declared but three days before that "the cry for manhood suffrage is now swelling like an inundation among our people, and should the tide be long stemmed, it cannot but be feared that our constitutional history will be stained by a serious blot." A remarkable feature of the movement lies in the fact that nearly the whole Japanese press, representing all parties and affiliations, has come out in favor of suffrage.

POLAND'S ANNEXATION OF VILNA

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE fall of the Cabinet of Premier Ponikowski on March 3, caused by the Government's inability to accept the demand of the Polish Vilna delegates to Warsaw—that Vilna be immediately incorporated with Poland—was treated in the April CURRENT HISTORY. The Premier's withdrawal, however, was only temporary, as he was asked to form a new Cabinet immediately. All the former Ministers were recalled, with three exceptions—the portfolios of Transportation, Commerce and Interior. The full list follows:

ANTONI PONIKOWSKI—Premier and Minister of Education.

KONSTANTY SKIRMUNT—Foreign Affairs.

Jerzy Michalski—Finance.

LUDWIK ZAGORNY-MARYNOWSKI—Transportation.

GABRYEL NARUTOWICZ—Public Works.

KAZIMIERS SOSNOKOWSKI—War.

STEFAN OSSOWSKI—Commerce and Industry.

JOSEF RACZYNSKI—Agriculture.

WLADYSLAW STESLOWICZ—Posts and Telegraphs.

WITOLD CHODZKO—Health.

BRONISLAW SOBOLEWSKI—Justice.

JOSEF WYBICKI—Former German Poland.

LUDWIK DAROWSKI—Public Welfare.

ANTONI KAMIENSKI—Interior.

Ludwik Zagorny-Marynowski, the new Minister of Transportation, is a railway construction engineer, and has occupied important official posts in Galicia and elsewhere. Stefan Ossowski, the new Minister of Commerce and Industry, is a graduate of the University of Lwow, and was formerly a professor at the University of Cracow. He is a bank official of eminence. Antoni Kamienski, the new Minister of the Interior, is a graduate of the University of Warsaw and the Warsaw Polytechnic. As a mining engineer, he has been associated with iron works in both Upper Silesia and former Russian Poland. He has had administrative experience in his own home district of Lodz.

The conference between representatives of the Baltic States and Poland, which opened in Warsaw on March 12, ended on March 19, with the conclusion of a political agreement preparatory to the Genoa conference. This agreement recognized the treaties with Russia, refused to recognize any treaty aimed against any of the signatory powers, declared for benevolent neutrality in case any one of them were attacked, and envisaged the conclusion of administrative and economic pacts. M. Skirmunt declared at the close of the sessions that the results attained would greatly contribute to the development of the Baltic States. M. Meierowicz, the Latvian Premier, expressed a similar conviction, and declared that Lithuania would enter the association later. Similar agreements regarding a common attitude were reached by Poland with the nations of the Little Entente. Special preparatory work for the Genoa conference was conducted by a separate Polish Governmental department under the direction of M. Antoni Wieniawski. The leading personnel

of the delegation sent by Poland to Genoa will be found in the article on the Genoa conference.

Whatever may be the ultimate conclusion of Poland's controversy with Lithuania over Vilna, the latter country is now faced with a fait accompli, in view of the action of the Polish Parliament late in March authorizing the Polish Government to take over Vilna as a part of Polish domain. Poland had previously refused the Kovno Government's demand that Vilna be turned over to Lithuania, and its subsequent offer to have the controversy decided by the new International Court, established by the League of Nations, on the ground that such a course would amount to an admission that the Vilna elections (Jan. 8, 1922), and the vote of the new Vilna Parliament for union (Feb. 20) had not been valid—a view which it could not accept. On March 3 the Vilna delegation to Warsaw, composed of twenty members, drew up and presented its resolution for union to the Skirmunt Cabinet. The Cabinet, it now appears, would have approved the resolution had not ten of the Vilna delegates refused to allow the Polish Government a free hand to grant Vilna special autonomy. The result was the fall of the Skirmunt Cabinet. Later, when M. Skirmunt had formed a new Cabinet, the Vilna delegation returned to Warsaw, and four of the recalcitrant delegates signed the resolution of March 3. Thus the last obstacle was removed, and the Polish Parliament, on March 24, voted in favor of union, and seated all twenty of the Vilna delegation among its members. No intimation of what action would be taken by the Lithuanian Government had been received up to the time when these pages went to press.

Poland's relations with Soviet Russia continued to be strained, because of the activities of the anti-Bolshevist "Whites" on Polish territory. M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, shortly prior to March 12, sent a new note of protest to the Warsaw Government, demanding the breaking up of all these organizations, and warning that if another armed attack comes from Polish territory, Russia will be unable to make any distinction between regular Polish troops and armed irregulars of whatever nationality. He contended that the Ukrainian General Petlura and others were preparing on Polish territory for a Spring attack on Russia, and declared that any further such violations of the Riga treaty would tend to bring about a resumption of war between Poland and Russia. The line taken by the Polish Government in its reply, published at the end of March, was one of surprise at the tone and tenor of the Russian note at a time when so many differences had been cleared away and commercial and sanitary negotiations were proceeding, combined with a general denial, and an intimation that the object of the note was to show the Soviet's power to exercise pressure on its neighbors to further its political demands with the allied nations, and also to justify Russia's own failure to fulfill the terms of the Riga treaty.

The "sanitary negotiations" referred to by the Polish Government had reference to the international conference on sanitation which opened in Warsaw on March 20, under the auspices of the League of Nations. The initiative for this conference was taken in February by the Polish Government, which addressed a note to the League of Nations at Geneva, pointing out the danger of the spreading of epidemic diseases through Central Europe from Russia. The most important danger zone lies along the Russo-Polish frontier, as determined by the treaty of Riga. Across this boundary refugees and re-emigrants to Poland have been coming in ever-increasing numbers. During the last few months the number far surpassed the accommodations available at quarantine stations and refugee camps. Most of these refugees are of Polish nationality, people who were forcibly expatriated during the European war. Poverty-stricken and underfed, they travel westward from disease-infected areas in Russia under conditions which constitute the gravest possible menace to public health in Poland, and even further west. The appeal of the Polish Government was favorably received by the League, and Sir Eric Drummond, the League Secretary, authorized Poland's sending out invitations for a general sanitary conference, to be held in Warsaw. Twenty-four nations, including Turkey, Hungary, Germany and Soviet Russia, sent representatives. The Russian delegation—the first which has been admitted to a European

conference since the advent of Bolshevik rule—was headed by M. Lorentz, first Secretary of the Soviet legation at Warsaw, and M. Sijak, first Secretary of the Soviet Ukrainian legation at Warsaw, and included Dr. I. P. Kalina and Dr. Sysin. The League was represented by Dr. Raichmann.

M. Skirmunt, the Polish Foreign Minister, in opening the conference, dwelt on the importance of the decisions to be taken in dealing with the epidemics. Dr. Kalina promised that the Soviet Government would give every assistance to secure the desired end. Three subcommittees were formed for (1) examination of epidemic conditions, (2) study of the measures to be taken by Russia and neighboring States for dealing with the present outbreaks, and (3) recommendation of necessary measures to prevent the epidemics from spreading westward. The reports of these various committees had not been published up to the time when these pages went to press.

The work of the commissions appointed by the Soviet and Polish Governments to delimit on the ground the Russo-Polish national boundary had been interrupted by the Winter, and was resumed early in April. Great difficulties have been encountered respecting the divisions to be made of properties cut in two by the frontier. Maps were inadequate, and special exploring had to be done. It was, however, the expectation that the labors of the commissions would be completed within a few weeks.

AGREEMENT IN THE BALTIC LANDS

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE various Baltic States have been very active within the past few weeks in putting their political house in order preparatory to the economic discussions which opened in Genoa on April 10. Poland, which has gradually assumed in this region a pivotal leadership, took the initiative in inviting Finland, Esthonia and Latvia to Warsaw in the middle of March to determine on a common policy. (See Poland.) The Lettish delegation was headed by Foreign Minister and Premier Meierowicz, and included M. Kalnish, the Finance Minister, and M. Penikis, Chief of the General Staff. The Esthonian delegation was composed of M. Piip, the Foreign Minister; M. Strandman, the ex-Premier, and General Laman. The Finnish delegation was headed by M. Holsti, Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. Skirmunt, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, welcomed the delegates. It was no longer possible, he said, for the Baltic countries to limit themselves to consular or transport questions. Genoa was the symbol of an extremely complex situation, and the Baltic nations must concentrate on deep and vital problems. They had no desire to force their collective views on any other State or group of States, he said, and Russia was not considered by them as a field for either political or economic exploitation. What they wished was, by mutual assurance and guarantees, to bend their efforts toward uplifting the vast regions of Eastern Europe,

and the principle from which they started was the inviolability of the treaties—including the treaties with Russia—which they had signed.

On the second day of the sessions the question of the collective attitude of the Baltic States at Genoa was discussed and decided upon. M. Skirmunt for Poland explained the need of a complete understanding, and stated that the Polish Government had held special conferences in Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, in which a common program had been laid down with Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia (the nations of the Little Entente). Subsequently the Polish delegates had taken part in a conference of experts at Belgrade. The results obtained had been most favorable, and the decisions of the Baltic States would complete the preparation. The conference then got down to work, and reached a full agreement on March 15. A treaty was signed by all of the four participating nations on a five-year basis. The main points were these:

- "1. Arbitration of disputes.
- "2. The present frontiers as laid down by existing treaties are confirmed.
- "3. New treaties made shall not be inimical to the four interested countries, to which they must be submitted.
- "4. Customs, economic, postal, railway and consular agreements to be concluded as early as possible after the conclusion of the Genoa conference, on the decisions of which treaties are

to be based—at present it is proposed that negotiations should begin in two months' time.

"5. It was further decided to adopt a common line of action at Genoa in regard to the undesirability of discussing the revision of existing Russian treaties, and a common understanding was reached in regard to the proposals to be presented on the economic regeneration of Russia."

With regard to Lithuania, which did not take part in the conference owing to the strained relations of the Lithuanian and Polish Governments, the Foreign Ministers of Latvia, Estonia and Finland agreed to take the necessary steps for her inclusion in the compact; Poland, on her part, pledged herself to abstain from any step capable of widening the rift.

The Soviet representatives in Warsaw also took no part in the discussions, though the decisions reached were communicated to them officially shortly after the conference closed. It developed later that the Soviet Government had invited the Baltic States to a general conference in Moscow on March 22 and that the latter had declined owing to the lack of time. The Soviet Government then invited these States to confer with the Russian Genoa delegation on its arrival in Riga on March 28. This invitation was

accepted, and the Baltic representatives were assembled in Riga when the Russians, headed by M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, arrived. From this conference, also, Lithuania was absent.

The delegates of Soviet Russia, Poland, Estonia and Latvia succeeded in agreeing on a policy making for peace in the Baltic region. The principle of armament limitation was accepted. Semi-neutral zones on the various frontiers were agreed upon, in which only a few guard troops were to be permitted. "A sincere desire for universal peace" was expressed, and arbitration in case of any dispute was approved. The conference ended on March 31 with these pre-Genoa understandings settled, and M. Tchitcherin and his colleagues continued their way to Genoa. The main declaration which M. Tchitcherin carried with him as an additional buttress for the Soviet position at Genoa was this: "In the interest of the consolidation of peace" the participants agree to support Russia in any proposals toward de jure recognition of the Soviet Government, and as an aid to the reconstruction of Eastern Europe they agree also upon a joint attitude at Genoa regarding foreign credits designed to assist the economic life of the four countries.

RUSSIA'S STRUGGLE FOR READJUSTMENT

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

IT was reported from Moscow on April 4 that steady progress was being made by the American Relief Administration in reaching famine sufferers with the food rations purchased by the \$20,000,000 relief fund appropriated by the American Congress. Transportation difficulties were being surmounted. In Tsarytsin in a single day a one-pound ration was distributed to each of 106,032 adults. In Samara, on the same day, 14,366 adults received a similar ration. With the raw grain the Administration hands out recipes for the making of corn bread, mush, soup, biscuits and gruel. If the hungry recipient is illiterate, he receives oral instructions. And so the vast work of American famine relief goes on. The gratitude of the Russians, described as "pathetic" by Herbert Hoover in a report submitted to President Harding some weeks ago, is everywhere in evidence. Recent British observers in Russia have confirmed it wherever they went. It has also been convincingly shown and admitted that the Soviet authorities are making every effort to aid the American Relief officials in getting the food to the people.

A grant of £1,100,000 was made by the British House of Commons on March 17, for additional food relief to be distributed through British agencies to the Russian famine areas. In moving the grant, H. A. L. Fisher declared that the Russian famine, both in extension and horror, could

be paralleled only by the great Indian famine of 1770, which swept 10,000,000 people into eternity. He cited the report made by Sir Benjamin Robertson, stating that some 15,000,000 inhabitants of the Volga region were in dire distress, and that those not being fed either by the Russian Government or the American administration were subsisting on the bark of trees or on weeds or grasses. Several members urged that the grant should be materially increased, among them James O'Grady, Labor member, who described his own experiences in the famine area, and handed around a piece of so-called bread on which large numbers of starving Russians were subsisting. Made of a combination of grass and sweet earth, it looked like a lump of greenish chalk.

In response to the request for a larger grant, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, speaking for the Government, argued that the country owed its first duty to its own people. He pointed out that Great Britain, since the end of the war, had contributed £54,000,000 to relief in Europe, in addition to £51,000,000 in export credits to help people from outside to purchase goods in England. Private charity, he also pointed out, had contributed £470,000 to the relief of the Russian famine.

The leading Bolsheviks have joined issue on the Government policy of church despoilment to relieve the famine. [See article on page 257.] Zinoviev and Bukharin are actively combating

the opposition of Archbishop Tikhon, the patriarch. Actual fighting had occurred in Kazan Cathedral and at Shuja, about 150 miles northeast of Moscow, where the Red Guard opened fire on the congregation, which threatened violence to the Soviet collectors of church treasure.

The Russian Soviet delegation to the Genoa conference, headed by George Tchitcherin, reached Riga on March 29. They met representatives of the border States gathered in Riga for the Baltic conference and discussed with them matters of common interest in connection with the coming sessions in Italy. The arrest of various Monarchist plotters, including Princess Lieven, the Russian General von Laiming, and others, gave earnest of the determination of the border States not to permit any violation of neutrality on their domains. The spirit expressed by Tchitcherin and other members of the Eleventh Communist Congress was that voiced by Lenin shortly before: "We go to Genoa, not as Communists, but as merchants seeking to widen trade and obtain favorable conditions."

Great excitement was caused in Berlin on March 28 by the attempt by two former Czarist officers—Peter von Schabelski-Brok and Sergius

Taboritzki—to assassinate Paul Milukov. Professor Milukov escaped unharmed, but his friend and colleague, Professor Nabukov, editor of the *Rul*, a Russian daily published in Berlin, was killed while striving to protect him. Five Russian men and women among those who had gathered to hear Milukov's lecture (devoted to his recent visit to America and to the general European situation) were more or less seriously injured. The shooting caused a panic among the audience, which numbered about 1,500, and many persons were injured in the rush for the exits. Both of the officers were apprehended, and made what purported to be a full confession. They had come from Munich resolved to slay Milukov, who, as the former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Russian Provisional Government, was considered by them responsible for the loss of privileges formerly possessed by their class. "Through Milukov came Russia's whole misfortune," said Schabelski-Brok, a dark, keen-eyed, undersized Russian, when examined by the German police. "He paved the way for Kerensky and the Bolsheviks. Had it not been for Milukov the Czar would have concluded peace with Germany. I regret only that I did not kill Milukov."

IN THE CAUCASUS CAULDRON

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

RUIN and tragedy are stalking through the Caucasus. The miserable lot of the formerly independent republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia has been accentuated by the desperate appeals that were made to the Entente powers on the eve of the Paris and Genoa conferences. The unhappy Armenians, reduced from a nation of 6,000,000 to one of 2,000,000, are now threatened with blindness from that dread disease, trachoma. This affliction has always been more or less prevalent in the Caucasus, but owing to the weakened vitality of the people, its spread in recent times has been rapid. Dr. R. T. Uhls, head of the medical department of the Near East Relief Administration, stated in Constantinople on March 28 that examination of 30,000 Armenian refugees had shown 27,000, or 90 per cent, to be in the first stages of the disease. "If the proportion holds good in all parts of Armenia," said Dr. Uhls, "the situation is one of the most serious with which any nation was ever confronted. Only an extensive medical campaign can save the country from becoming a nation of the blind."

The decisions reached by the Council of Ministers at the Paris Conference on the Near East included an agreement to entrust the fate of Armenia to the League of Nations. [See "The Sèvres Treaty Revised."] According to the head of the Armenian delegation at Paris, this action took from his compatriots their last hope of seeing the plans of President Wilson carried through. The Armenians protested violently against the plan formulated in London of concentrating the Armenian nation in Cilicia near

the French Syrian frontier, declaring that their national home had always been around Lake Van. The panic-stricken exodus of the Armenians from Cilicia after the French evacuation is of comparatively recent occurrence. The reason given by the fleeing Armenians, whom all the persuasions of the French and Turkish officials in Cilicia could not induce to believe that Cilicia was safe for them once the French forces had withdrawn, was the animosity of the Turkish population of this region against all Armenians.

The basis for this animosity is chiefly religious, the Turkish anti-Christian bias having been intensified and sharpened by the Turks' resentment over the terms of the Sèvres Treaty. From a letter sent by the Paris delegation of the Republic of Northern Caucasus (Daghestan) to President Poincaré on March 20, just prior to the opening of the Near East Conference, it was revealed that this reaction had worked powerfully also in the Caucasus.

Meanwhile the Bolshevik rulers of the nominally "federated" republics of the region have been busily engaged in bolstering up a power which recent reports have indicated has begun to weaken. An insurgent movement of considerable importance was developing in Azerbaijan, whose population is mainly Mussulman, toward the end of March. Continual fighting was occurring in the department of Gandja, where the insurgents, armed with machine guns, had captured several food depots of the Red Army. Similar uprisings were reported at Zakatal Niukha and Tchetchna. Several railways had been wrecked. The insurrection had reached serious proportions at Grozny. The seriousness of the

general situation was indicated by the fact that the Russian trains from Rostov (South Russia), were not running beyond Mosdok.

Similar insurrections were reported in Georgia on March 15. Famine, epidemics and the despotic rule of the Bolsheviks had brought the hatred of the population to the point of explosion. The mountain regions—Svanethia and Khevsourethia—were in open revolt, and had taken over complete power. The Bolshevik rule was weakening throughout the whole country, and was still strong only in the large towns and along the railroad, where the Russian troops were encamped. Confirmation of these conditions was given by an article published in the Berlin *Vorwaerts* on March 2.

According to the *Vorwaerts* writer, the dreaded "Cheka" or Extraordinary Commission, whose power has been greatly reduced in Russia, was still working actively in Georgia. A report of this organization published in the Red Black Sea Territory, a Russian Communist paper, gives the number of executions in Georgia last December as 135. The German writer declares that this estimate is much too low, and asserts that executions for counter-revolutionary activities are occurring every day in Tiflis.

On the eve of the Genoa Conference, the leaders of the exiled democratic government publicly demanded that the conferring nations should allow the legitimate Georgian Government to send representatives to plead the cause of their captive country. Toward the middle of February, M. Tchenkeli, Minister of Georgia in France, addressed to the allied Governments a note to this effect. A similar appeal was published by M. N. Jordania, President of the Georgia National Government, in The London Times of March 21. M. Jordania laid down the following propositions:

"1. If Europe bears in silence the crying injustice committed against Georgia by the Government of Soviet Russia, then this will mean the sanctioning of the right of any Great Power to attack its neighbors and to seize their territory.

"2. While the Moscow armies are in Georgia, that is, on the frontiers of Asia Minor, there will be no peace in the Near East, for, possessing Georgia, the Bolsheviks are practically the masters at Angora.

"3. Until the restoration of the independence of Georgia and also of the other Transcaucasian Republics, there will be anarchy in Transcaucasia, which will undoubtedly hinder the economic development of this very rich country."

EVENTS IN THE BALKANS

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

JUGOSLAVIA

REPRESENTATIVES of the three little Entente States and of Poland met at Belgrade to discuss concerted action at the Genoa conference. As a result of the negotiations it was announced that the Polish Government adheres to the program of the Little Entente. The Yugoslav Foreign Minister, M. Ninchitch, declared that the Little Entente powers had agreed to support the British-French intention not to allow any discussion at Genoa of the territorial and reparation arrangements under the existing peace treaties.

An American syndicate, affiliated with the Morgan interests, has completed arrangements with the Yugoslav Government in regard to a railroad connecting Belgrade with an Adriatic port, either on the Dalmatian or the Herzegovina coast. Russian engineers will co-operate, the labor being furnished by the exiled troops of the Russian anti-Bolshevist General, Wrangel. The railroad is to be operated with electric power gained from mountain waterfalls.

Queen Marie of Rumania, accompanied by Crown Prince Carol, arrived in Belgrade to complete plans in connection with the impending marriage of her daughter, Princess Marie, with King Alexander.

BULGARIA

Substantial victory for Premier Stamboliski in the communal elections was announced by the Government on the basis of the complete returns. It appears that the govern-

mental organization, the Agrarian Party, scored over 13,000 Municipal Council seats out of a total of 26,000, the balance being distributed among the Bourgeois and Communist Parties.

Great resentment was expressed by the press over the stand of the Reparation Commission insisting on the payment of 10,000,000 gold francs before April 30, and another of 30,000,000 next year. A few weeks ago the Government announced that a delay had been granted. This announcement was met with a vigorous denial by the Reparation Commission.

An explosion in the building of the American Legation at Sofia on the evening of March 11 was believed to have been caused by a bomb thrown by Soviet sympathizers. Investigation later showed that the outrage was the work of an irresponsible person, and had nothing to do with any political party or movement. Large crowds paraded the street cheering for the United States and Minister Wilson, and the Parliament expressed its regret over the occurrence by an unanimous vote, in which even the Socialists and Communists participated. A reward of 50,000 levas has been offered for the apprehension of the criminal.

RUMANIA

The new Minister of Finance, Vintila Bratiano, is attacking energetically the problems of economic reconstruction. A systematic survey of national resources is in progress, and an inquiry has been instituted into the financial waste under former Governments. It was pointed out that though Rumania's total war debt does

not exceed 3,000,000,000 lei, loans amounting to 11,000,000,000 have been contracted since the armistice. Out of this, 6,000,000,000 went toward redeeming Russian currency in Bessarabia and Austro-Hungarian notes in Bukovina, Transylvania and the Banat—a measure which was bitterly opposed by the Liberals as wasteful.

Charges of governmental terrorism during the recent general elections were made by the Socialist and other opposition press. * * * A court-martial at Cluj, in Transylvania, sentenced four Hungarians to imprisonment with hard labor for a period ranging from five to ten years. They were charged with conspiracy against the safety of the Rumanian State. Two other defendants were acquitted.

Constantin Diamandy, one of the members of the Rumanian delegation to Genoa, was formerly Rumanian Minister in Petrograd. His arrest by the Bolsheviks, on a charge of counter-revolutionary activities, created a small international commotion. M. Diamandy was later Rumanian Commissioner at Budapest, at the time of the Rumanian occupation.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Prague press comments with great satisfaction over the rôle played by Premier Benes

in assisting in the preliminaries of the Genoa conference, more particularly on his efforts to smooth out differences between Lloyd George and M. Poincaré, and his successful engineering of the joint program adopted at the Belgrade meeting of Little Entente representatives.

In an interview to the press Premier Benes declared that he was in complete accord with the policy of the Great Entente to exclude territorial and reparation questions from the agenda at Genoa. He said he realized that some territorial provisions of the treaties of St. Germain and Trianon were not perfect, but that revision was absolutely impossible. He also declared that he was in favor of resuming trade relations with Russia, but that such resumption did not necessarily imply political recognition of the Soviet.

The Government's Statistical Bureau publishes figures to the effect that Czechoslovakia's exports for the year 1920 amounted to 27,667,000,000 crowns, the imports to 23,384,000,000. It is believed that the balance for 1921 is still more favorable.

Deposits made in 1921 in the Czechoslovak savings banks amounted to 549,000,000 crowns, withdrawals to 358,000,000, leaving a total saving for the year of 190,000,000.

CONFUSED SITUATION IN CHINA

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE anomalous political situation in Peking due to the prolonged "leave of absence" of the discredited premier, Liang Shi-yi, was somewhat relieved on April 12, when it was announced that Chow Tzu-chi, a prominent Chinese financier and former Minister of Finance, had been appointed as acting premier. Though the appointment was temporary, it had a reassuring effect on political and commercial circles.

The threatening situation precipitated by the election of Liang Shi-yi as premier, however, was pointing to imminent civil war between Gen. Chang Tso-lin, the North Manchurian Tuchun, and Gen. Wu Pei-fu, the Tuchun of Hunan, in the latter part of March and the first weeks of April. It was Gen. Chang who railroaded Liang into office by going to Peking and dictating to President Hsu the personnel of a new cabinet. This was greatly resented by Gen. Wu, who opposed and denounced Liang from the start, on the basis of his past record and as Gen. Chang's puppet. Liang's action in freeing the imprisoned members of the Anfu Party, convicted of a conspiracy against the Government a year or so ago, increased the hue and cry against him, with the result that he deemed it expedient, especially in view of Gen. Wu's threat to march on Peking, to withdraw temporarily from office. He has now been absent from the Government for many weeks, and obstinately refuses to resign.

Meanwhile, however, the relations between Chang and Wu became strained and even hostile, and civil war threatened. At the end of March it was reported that Chang, in alliance with Dr.

Sun Yat-sen, President of the Canton Government and the Anfu faction, under Tuan Chi-jui, was moving 70,000 troops from Tientsin and Shantung against Wu, who remained entrenched in Hunan, awaiting attack. Fighting was expected in Chihli and Hunan, and Peking was trembling with apprehension, though Chang had ordered detachments of his army to guard the Tientsin-Peking Railway for the protection of the capital. Leading Chinese were seeking safety in the foreign concessions at Tientsin.

For the first time in her modern history, the Supreme Court of China exercised jurisdiction over foreign citizens on Feb. 21, when it tried Victor Falke, a Russian, citizen of the Chita Government in Siberia, on the charge of forgery. This was the first concrete result of China's strong stand against the principle of extra-territoriality. All the evidence pointed to Falke's acquittal. * * * On April 7 the Chinese Government, in accord with the decisions of the Washington conference, abrogated the Russo-Chinese customs agreement of 1881. * * * An attempt by a Chinese law student in Paris to assassinate Mr. Cheng-lo, the Chinese Ambassador to Paris, on March 21, failed of its object. A friend of the Ambassador, Mr. Tsang-hu, a Chinese delegate to the Genoa Conference, was slightly wounded. The attacker escaped, but surrendered to the French police the following day. He had wished to kill the Ambassador, he said, because of difficulties that had occurred between the Minister and a section of the Chinese students in France.

JAPANESE IN SIBERIA—END OF THE DAIREN CONFERENCE

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE defeat and flight of the "White" forces of the Vladivostok Government before the onset of the soldiers of the Chita Far Eastern Republic were described in the April issue of CURRENT HISTORY. It was reported from Vladivostok on April 3 that the Chita troops were still advancing southward along the Ussuri Railway in pursuit of the retreating Whites, and had reached Spasskoe. Despite Japanese warnings, the Chita army invaded Japanese neutral territory. The Japanese did not immediately begin hostilities, owing, it was believed, to the still incomplete negotiations continuing at Dairen between Japanese and Far Eastern Republic representatives. The Russian spokesmen at Dairen had already been warned against any invasion of the neutral territory. Meanwhile, it was reported that M. Merkulov, the former head of the Vladivostok Government, had fled.

Japanese action against the Far Eastern troops, however, was reported from Chita on April 12. While the troops of the republic were attempting to parley with the Japanese in command at the village of Brussifka, in the neutral zone, in order to request permission to pass in pursuit of the White forces, the Japanese fired upon them, using artillery, infantry and airplanes, and inflicting a loss of thirty killed or wounded. The Far Eastern commander requested permission to retire, but the Japanese kept on firing. The Reds did not return the fire. Later, for some unreported reason, the Japanese left Brussifka, which the Chita forces occupied, at the same time continuing their pursuit of the Whites. On April 13, though, dispatches both from Vladivostok via Tokio, and from Chita via Moscow, agreed that Japanese troops had resumed their offensive and had driven the Chita forces out of the neutral zone between them and the Vladivostok troops, compelling the evacuation of several villages in the Amur region. The Japanese had driven the Reds as far north as Shmakovka, about 150 miles from Vladivostok, and were approaching the Ussuri station, a few miles further north. The Vladivostok Government troops had occupied the town of Olga.

The dispatch via Moscow stated that the Russian population was fleeing in terror. Citing the Brussifka incident in an article in the Izvestia, April 13, entitled "Japan at Genoa and Vladivostok," Leon Trotzky, Soviet Minister of War, declared: "We place this to the account of Japan in our book, and shall present it at Genoa or some other place." He added that this was not the first time the Far Eastern army had scattered the White forces, only to have Japan appear from behind a curtain to stay its hand; that the Genoa Economic Conference should realize that while Japan at Genoa is trying to help settle world affairs she is simultaneously shielding bandits in the Far East in maintaining a state of anarchy.

According to the Tokio newspapers of the date of the Spasskoe incident, the immediate evacuation of Siberia had been decided upon at the last meeting of the Japanese Cabinet. The Asahi Shimbun, in publishing this report, attributed the decision to the activities of the Reds in the maritime province, which, it says, place the Japanese in the position of having to fight the Soviet forces or make peace. "In either case, Japan would suffer," said this paper. "If they fight, the situation will become further complicated; if they shake hands, the maintenance of troops there for the last five years loses its significance." In a statement published in Tokio on April 10 Viscount Uchida declared that if the Japanese troops were withdrawn Japanese residents must necessarily follow; this, he said, would work but little hardship, as they had been doing very little business. He made it clear that the Korean frontier must be protected at all costs.

On the eve of the clashes in the neutral zone, the negotiations at Dairen between Japanese and Far Eastern Republic representatives ended in the latter's acceptance of all the terms of Japan's ultimatum, the Dairen conference closing Sunday, April 9. According to the text of the agreement given in the Jiji Shimbun, Tokio, the Far Eastern Republic agreed formally to adhere to anti-communistic principles. It recognized the agreement previously made between the Japanese Army authorities and the Russian administrations in the Far East; also that Japan has equal rights on the Amur River. It had also to recognize Japanese fishing rights off the Russian coast. The republic agreed to the stationing of legitimate representatives of the Japanese Government in Chita, Vladivostok "and other places where it may be necessary."

The republic would try to reach a peaceful solution regarding administrative rights in the maritime province, and strive for the unification of all Russian territory in the Far East. It was to guarantee positively the lives and property of all foreign residents in Eastern Siberia. The fortifications of Vladivostok were to be removed, and the city was to be made a free commercial port. The republic would grant to foreign residents the land necessary for business for periods not exceeding thirty-six years. All iron mines were to be open to foreign investment and development. The right of foreigners to cut timber was to be recognized, and a revision of the customs duties made by a joint committee representing the republic and Japan. The rights and interests granted by the republic were not to exceed in extent those granted by the Soviets. The republic must refrain from propaganda prejudicial to Japan. A military agreement regarding the withdrawal of troops was to be arranged after the conclusion of the commercial negotiations.

The Asahi Shimbun of the same date (April 11) said that the agreement would be signed with

practically no change, and that "both parties were satisfied." It was communicated from Tokio, however, that politicians feared that Japan's successful ultimatum and its acceptance by Chita might result in an uproar similar to that which followed the notorious twenty-one demands on China, though the Japanese Government was confident "that the world would consider the settlement just."

The delegation of the Chita Government in Washington reiterated its charges of a Franco-Japanese understanding for the exploitation of Siberia in a statement issued by M. Skvirsky, spokesman for the delegation. The previous charges from this source had been denied officially by both the French and Japanese officials. According to this new statement, issued March 15, the understanding had been effected by Marshal Joffre's recent visit to Japan, which really had a political purpose. The statement says: "A new figurehead Government will be established by Japan in Vladivostok to replace the discredited Merkulov Government, and this new Government will probably be headed by Eremieiev. He will be as much a tool of the Japanese as Merkulov has been, and no doubt will give large concessions to the Japanese, just as Merkulov has done." In this roundabout way, it was implied, the Japanese would seek to attain their end—the control of all Siberia.

A considerable sensation in the United States was caused by the arrival and swift arrest of General Semenoff, former Kolchak leader in Siberia, on the charge of having seized property of the Youraveta Trading Company, an American concern, representing a value of many thousands of dollars. Semenoff reached Vancouver on March 15, and after some passport difficulties, was admitted. Despite the receipt of many protests from the American Legion and other organiza-

tions based on Semenoff's alleged mistreatment of American soldiers in Siberia, he was admitted to the United States on April 1. After a short visit in Washington he came to New York. Arrested as he and his young wife stepped off the train at the Pennsylvania Station, he was at first dumbfounded. He was allowed to go to his hotel, and after a few hours secured bail.

Through a Russian friend, who acted as interpreter, for Semenoff speaks no English, the General made the following brief explanation: "As you know, I was at the head of the All-Russian Anti-Bolshevist Army after Kolchak. There was no stable order in Siberia at that time, and it was well known that the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks were both taking goods whenever they were able to, and were selling them to aid their own cause. There are a great many lawsuits in Harbin growing out of these affairs. This is only one of those suits, and it is not any more serious than any of the others." The Youraveta Trading Company, in its writ, demands that he be forced to pay a judgment for \$500,000, representing loss of wools and other goods seized by him, obtained against him in Harbin on Dec. 1, 1921. The company declares that this looting forced it into bankruptcy. It calls Semenoff a bandit, and supports this charge by affidavits made by Brig. Gen. William S. Graves, formerly commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia, and Charles H. Smith, formerly American representative on the Allied Railway Commission in Russia.

The ostensible motive for Semenoff's coming to America is to finance and recruit for an extensive revolt against the Bolshevik power in Siberia. His plan, as he explained it, was for the division of Siberia on an ethnographic and Federal basis, with an All-Siberian Congress and a President elected by the people at large.

GREECE AND THE WAR IN ASIA MINOR

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1922]

THE allied decision about an armistice between the Greek and Turkish forces in Asia Minor was received in Athens March 23. The text of this document, which is here published for the first time in America, is as follows: "The Foreign Ministers of the three great powers, having met together in Paris for the purpose of restoring peace in the Near East, and in order to try to formulate some suggestions for the evacuation of Asia Minor without further bloodshed and other material losses, have considered it their duty to advise very earnestly the interested Governments to accept an immediate cessation of hostilities."

Following this preamble the text of the armistice itself runs thus:

"Article 1—The hostilities will cease at midnight of the night of ——— to ———, 1922.

"Article 2—While maintaining their general

lines now occupied by their main forces, the belligerent parties must withdraw to the rear their advanced elements in such a way as to suppress any contact, and they also must open a space free from troops, which space must not be less than ten kilometers between the two fronts, in conformity with the decisions to be taken by different local commissions, made up of the representatives of the Greek and Turkish commands, and also of a number of allied officers.

"Article 3—During the armistice no reinforcements, whether in personnel or in material, shall be operated by either of the opposing armies, and no transfer of any units constituting the front will be permitted.

"Article 4—A number of allied commissions under a common allied direction shall be attached to each belligerent army. Their duty shall be to control in each of the armies the execution

of the clauses of the armistice, and to settle the incidents that may arise in this connection. These allied commissions shall also have the right to intervene in the activities of the authorities occupying their respective territories, in order to assure the protection of the minorities resident in those localities.

"Article 5—The Hellenic High Command and the Ottoman High Command assume the obligation of accepting and of loyally complying with the arbitration of the allied commissions.

"Article 6—The hostilities will be suspended for a period of three months, which period may be automatically renewed until the time when the belligerents will have accepted the conditions of the preliminaries of peace. Should one of the belligerents desire not to renew the present convention, he shall have to notify the other party and also the representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy, at least fifteen days before the expiration of the armistice then in force.

"CURZON,
"SCHANZER,
"POINCARÉ."

In answer to this communication, the Greek Government informed the great powers of its acceptance of the armistice, conditional upon certain reservations of strictly military character. As regards, however, the evacuation of Asia Minor, the Greek Government made it plain in an unofficial way that it could not accept the view of the Allies, inasmuch as such a step would jeopardize the lives of the freed Greek population of Asia Minor, which under no circumstances will again submit to Turkish rule, all the allied guarantees notwithstanding.

Pending the final decision of the Greek Government, the Turkish Nationalists notified the great powers that their acceptance of the armistice is conditional on the withdrawal of the Greek Army from the railroad of Eski-Shekr to Afiun-Kara-Hissar within two weeks, and on the complete evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek forces within four months. The Greek General Staff declared immediately that under no circumstances will the Greek Army abandon its present positions or evacuate Asia Minor. At the same time the Allies notified the Turkish Nationalists of their opposition to the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greek troops at the present time, and they declared that the Turks must accept the armistice as it is without any new conditions.

While the whole discussion of this problem is interrupted by the Genoa conference, the Greek Army in Asia Minor, assisted by the entire Greek population of that country and by the Armenian and the Circassian elements that co-operate with

the Greeks in that area, is feverishly preparing to resist to the bitter end any attempt of the Turks or the Allies to dislodge the Greek troops from there. A powerful organization is now being formed in Smyrna for the purpose of repeating the coup d'état of Fiume should the Greek Government submit to the demands of the Allies to evacuate Asia Minor. A similar organization is in the process of formation in London.

While the all-absorbing question of Asia Minor engages the almost exclusive attention of the entire Greek press, which is unanimously against any evacuation of territory held by the Greek troops, the newly reorganized Greek Ministry under the Presidency of Demetrios Gounaris appeared before the National Assembly and obtained a vote of confidence. The new Greek Ministry is as follows:

DEMETRIOS GOUNARIS—Premier and Minister of Justice.

PETROS PROTOPAPADAKIS—Minister of Finance.

NICHOLAS THEOTOKIS—Minister of War.

GEORGE BALTADGIS—Minister of Foreign Affairs and *ad interim* of Marine.

ATHANASE ARCYROS—Minister of Agriculture.

GEORGE POLYGENIS—Minister of Public Education.

General XENOPHON STRATIGOS—Minister of Communications.

LOUKAS K. RUFFOS—Minister of National Economy.

Admiral MICHAEL GOUDAS—Minister of the Interior.

GEORGE THEODORIDES—Minister of Public Assistance.

The newly created Ministry of the Treasury was given to the Jewish Deputy from Saloniki, Peppo Nahmia Malah, who is the first man of that faith to be accorded a Ministerial portfolio in Greece.

When this Ministry appeared before the National Assembly and obtained a vote of confidence, the vote stood thus: Present and voting, 313. Of these, 164 voted for the Government and 86 against it. The ten members of the Government, as usual, refrained from voting, and 33 gave blank votes.

On April 1, following a heated discussion about the armistice negotiations, M. Gounaris declared that, although he accepted the armistice, he never promised to evacuate Smyrna. The debate ended with a vote of confidence, in which out of 236 present the Government received 163 votes to 52 against it. The ten members of the Cabinet abstained from voting, and the same course was followed by eleven other members of the Assembly, while the eighty Venizelist members withdrew while the vote was being taken.